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ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;

OR

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME,

&c.

ROMAN CATHOLIC

OF THE

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ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;
OR
A SHORT DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES OF ROME:
INTERSPERSED WITH
CHARACTERS OF EMINENT ROMANS;
AND
REFLECTIONS, RELIGIOUS AND MORAL,
ON
ROMAN HISTORY.

BY THE LATE
JOSEPH WILCOCKS, F. S. A.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED:
With a PREFACE, containing
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR:
ALSO
A TRANSLATION OF THE QUOTATIONS,
A GENERAL INDEX, AND
A PLAN OF ROME.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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Second Volume.

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ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

Book III.

C H A P. IV.

FOURTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ON the bank of the *Tiber*, in the place anciently known by the name of *Pulchri Littoris*, stands a small and round *antique* temple, generally supposed to be that of *Vesta*. It's beautiful circular portico is supported by twenty fluted columns of the *corinthian* order, all of white *parian* marble. The temple itself is entirely composed of the same rich material; the several parts of it being so curiously joined, that the whole fabric must have originally appeared as one single mass of marble: a circumstance, as the young nobleman observed, not to be paralleled in any other building at *Rome*.

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IF the architecture of this building gave him such pleasure, *Crito's* pupil was not less agreeably entertained with the pleasantness of its situation, and with the several poetic ideas which here rose in his memory. Looking to the river, he immediately recollected *Horace's* exact description of this spot*.

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis,
Templaque Vestæ.*

BUT with far more pleasure did he turn his eyes to the other side of the temple of *Vesta*, towards the pleasant *Palatine* hill, the solemn ruins of which were much enlivened by the fresh beauty of the many intermingled shrubs now all in leaf or flower; then towards the ancient square white fabric of *Janus Quadrifrons*, and the circular brick temple of *Romulus*. It was not without some classical enthusiasm, that he saluted all these places with the following lines of *Virgil*:

* CARM. lib. i. od. 2. 13. The opposite bending shore is part of *Etruria*, of which the *Tiber* was the ancient boundary, and the adjoining oblong temple was built by *Servius Tullius*, the sixth king of *Rome*. See book i. p. 35. See also the learned *Abbate Venuti's* Antiquities of *Rome*, vol. ii. p. 29, 30.

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*Di patrii Indigetes, & Romule, Vestaque mater,
Quæ tuscum Tiberim, & romana palatia servas*.*

CRITO was as highly satisfied with the view of this antique building as any of the younger part of his company; though for a very different reason.

THIS elegant fabric, said he, is thought, by some antiquarians, to have been the temple of *Cybele*; by others, that of *Apollo*, or *Hercules*. It is marked as the temple of *Portumnus* in the map before *Kennet's Antiquities*; which book indeed we have generally found to be very accurate. But, amidst all this incertitude, the opinion which seems to prevail most at present, and which fixes on this fabric as one of the temples of *Vesta*, is perhaps the most true. Supposing this to have been really the case, how venerable ought this edifice to appear to us! The temples of *Vesta* were indeed far more awful than any other of the ancient religious edifices in *Rome*: for though the worship of *Vesta* was heathenish, yet her temples never contained any statue, or image, which might *strictly* be called an idolatrous representation of the Supreme Being.

GEORG. i. 498.

B 2

AFTER

4 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. *Book III.*

AFTER some respectful pause, on uttering the last expressions, *Crito* proposed to his young friends, to take a short studious walk along the valley, which leads from this temple of *Vesta* to the forum.

DURING that walk, his pupil repeated the following lines of *Ovid*.

Esse diu stultus Vestæ simulacra putavi:

Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.

Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo;

Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habent.*

ANOTHER of the young gentlemen spoke of the *natural* fire, at *Pietra Mala*, in *Tuscany*. It is said, added he, that there was anciently a temple of *Vesta* on *that* spot; though I cannot say, that I remember seeing there any remains of such a building, or even any marks of it's situation. If a temple of *Vesta* really stood there, it was probably in some respects similar to the fire temple, which *Hanway* describes at *Baku*, on the coasts of the *Caspian* sea.

THE conversation now wandered to *Persia*. *Crito* mentioned, not without some marks of doubt

* *FASTOR*. lib. vi. 295.

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and disapprobation, the very favourable manner in which Dr. *Hyde* speaks of the ancient *persian* religion: he began also to consider the celebrated character of *Zoroaster*; when, recollecting how far that digression might lead him from his present business, he brought again the discourse to it's former classical subject.

EVERY *curia* or ward of ancient *Rome*, said he, had it's particular temple * dedicated to *Vesta*. The edifice, which we have been just now viewing on the banks of the *Tiber*, was probably one of these temples.

ANOTHER of them stood on this side the *Capitoline* hill, near the church of *Santa Maria della Gracia*, and the hospital of *Santa Maria della Consolazione*. It was probably that temple of *Vesta*, which *Nero*, even in the height of his wickedness and power, trembled to enter †.

BUT the chief temple of *Vesta* stood in the forum, on your right, where you see the church of *Santa Maria Liberatrice*. We cannot be mistaken in it's situation, as *Statius*, in his descrip-

* See *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

† See *Tacitus*, *Ann.* lib. xv.

Adiit Capitolium veneraturus deos. Cum Vestæ quoque templum inivisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione nunquam timore vacuus.

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tion of the *roman forum**, describes it standing opposite to the temple of *Concord*.

AT *that church*, if you please, we will finish our walk : we may sit down on some of the blocks of marble, which lie near it's porch ; and, as the place is at present very solitary, you will perhaps permit me to trouble you there with one of my papers.

QUINTUS MUTIUS SCÆVOLA, PONTIFEX MAX.

IF this hand, *this most unworthy hand*, should be ever employed in delineating the characters of any great and truly christian ecclesiastics, my *principal* endeavour certainly would be, to describe *their conduct in their profession* ; their *pastoral* care of the people committed to their charge ; and their diligence in *religious* studies.

BUT, in the character of this *heathen* high-priest, the case is totally different. We must pass over in silence his conduct in his pontificate, and speak not of his learned labours, which were relative to his false religion †.

MOST

* *De Equo Domitiani*, ver. 31. to ver. 36.

† Some fragments of *Scævola's* works in this kind are preserved by *Tully* and *St. Austin*. See on this occasion *Leland's*

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MOST heartily indeed might it be wished, that *Scævola*, as well as the elder *Metellus*, the *Valerii*, and other ancient worthies of this city *, had been enlightened with the true faith. His temperance, and other moral virtues, would not have been unsuitable to the highest rank in the church.

BUT, laying aside his pontifical character, let us consider his conduct in *other* stations.

THE duties of the christian priesthood are so numerous and so important, as to afford the most industrious ecclesiastic sufficient employment during his whole life. ΛΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝ ΘΕΩ ΕΝ ΟΣΙΟΤΗΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ †.

BUT it was otherwise among the heathen: their flamens and pontifices, without being supposed to run any hazard of neglecting the proper work of their profession, were generally engaged in *other* business: sometimes even in *military* employments; frequently in the conduct of *civil* affairs relative to the *state*, and in the labours of the *law*.

land's Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, shown from the state of religion in the ancient heathen world, vol. i. p. 132, 157, 197, 255.

* See the Conversation *on this same spot*, book i, vol. i, p. 131. See also book ii, vol. i, p. 219—20.

† Luke i. 74, 75.

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IT was the custom here at *Rome*, as you very well know, dear sir, continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen,—a custom as ancient as this city itself, that the youth of the principal families should be all educated in some knowledge of the laws of their country, and in some practice of speaking before the public assemblies of the people. By these means, those among them, who were endowed with a proper degree of genius and industry, had it in their power, when grown up, not only to be of some real service to the public, in the great work of legislation,—for how can any one pretend to make new laws, who is not acquainted with the old?—but also, in private life, to be very serviceable to many persons and families of inferior rank, under their patronage.

AT the public tribunals, the young noblemen pleaded the causes of these their clients *gratis*. The beneficence of this employment is placed by *Tully* in a very strong light. *Quid tam regium, tam liberale, tam munificum, quàm opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate?*

THE elder part of the nobility, beside presiding in the several courts of justice in their offices of prætors, &c., employed themselves also in giving

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giving gratis to their clients their learned opinions and friendly advice in matters of law. *In civitate amplissimus quisque & clarissimus vir senectutem suam ornabat tali juris interpretatione. Domus eorum velut oraculum civitatis erat, maximâ frequentiâ civium celebrata. Stipabant illorum fores, ut ait Ennius,*

*Suarum rerum incerti, quos ego ope meâ ex
Incertis certos, competosque consili
Dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas.*

DR. Burnet, in his life of lord chief justice Hale, takes notice, that his lordship greatly admired this custom among the romans. Let me read to you some of his own words. *The juriconsults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employments in the state, and became the great masters of their law; and whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one classis of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the digests under Justinian. Lord chief justice Hale thought it might become the greatness of a prince to encourage such a sort of men and of studies: in which none, in the age he lived in, was equal to the great Selden; who was truly, in our english law, what the old roman juriconsults were in their's.*

BUT

BUT let us return to *Scævola*. He excelled in each manner; I mean, if I may use the expressions, both as pleader, and as chamber-council. He mixed and tempered together the qualifications both of jurisprudence and eloquence, so as to become, in *Tully's* opinion, *inter juris peritos eloquentissimus, inter oratores juris peritissimus*.

PARDON me, dear sir, said *Crito's* pupil, for this interruption; but, when we reflect, that *Tully* was the scholar and disciple of *Scævola*, we ought not surely to forbear expressing our pleasure in hearing this his encomium on his beloved old master. Many other similar passages in *Cicero's* works crowd into my mind; particularly one, in the beginning of his *Amicitia*. *Pontificem Scævola unum nostræ civitatis, & ingenio & justitiâ præstantissimum, audeo dicere*. But pray proceed.

SCÆVOLA'S love of justice and of beneficence, my dear pupil, continued *Crito*, extended much farther than to the limits of his own city and country. He accepted the office of governor of *Asia Minor*, on purpose to increase his power of doing good.

I LISTENED with much pleasure yesterday morning, in the *Negroni* garden, to the reflections
of

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of some of this company on the subject of provincial government ; and should be very glad, if that conversation were now resumed. It should seem indeed probable, from several circumstances, particularly from some expressions of *Tully*, which I met with yesterday afternoon in turning over his *Oration de lege Maniliâ*, that *Asia Minor* may justly be considered as the *Mexico* or *Peru* of the roman empire.

CRITO said this with a kind of intention to revive that subject, on which the eldest of the young gentlemen had yesterday spoken with much laudable ardour ; but the worthy youth modestly declined the compliment, and desired rather to attend to *Crito's* lectures, than to interrupt them. Some short mention indeed was made, on this occasion, of the famous bishop of *Chiapa* ; of *Peter de Toledo*, the great *peruvian* viceroy and legislator ; and of several other *europeans*, who are said to have acted well in other parts of *America* :—but the conversation soon returned to *Scævola*.

IN your late *roman* studies, continued *Crito*, you have often had occasion to observe, that the provinces of the empire, in this age of degeneracy, were groaning under the heaviest and most shameful oppression. Their governors were far
from

from looking on the high office, by which so large a part of mankind was most solemnly committed to their care, in it's true and noble light. Instead of this, their only views were plunder and rapine. They considered their patents of government merely as licences for repairing their fortunes, broken and ruined by luxury; and for fully satisfying their tyrannical pride and avarice. In vain did the oppressed provincials cry for protection at the tribunals of *Rome*. The judges there were generally persons connected with their oppressors, and deeply stained, themselves, with the same crimes. For the governors willingly suffered these *roman* judges to join, by their agents, in plundering the provinces, on condition that they themselves might be mutually protected by them, from all accusations on that head, with the greatest impunity. But with what different views did *Scævola* enter on his government! With what indignation did he look down on such leagues of iniquity as these! His maxim of government was, not to be himself burdensome in the least to his provincials, or to suffer any other persons to be injurious to them. He served this important office *gratis*: never accepting any thing whatsoever from the *asians*; but residing among them far from his own country; diligently labouring for their benefit; and in the mean time living on his own fortune, eating his own bread among them

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them with frugality, contentment, and the greatest joy. The consciousness of his own integrity enabled him also most intrepidly to defend the *asians* from other oppressors, and to bring his countrymen themselves to justice. For these proud and cruel men were equally brought before the tribunal of *Scævola*; condemned there with the most just and impartial severity, and dragged thence to prison, or to death, by the hands of the very persons over whom they had tyrannised. A spectacle, most unexpected, but most welcome to the poor *asians*: A spirit of government, which regained to *Rome* the love of all its provinces and allies; and crowned *Scævola* himself with the greatest though unsought and uncoveted glory*.

CRITO now paused, and for some time fixed his eyes in silence on the ground;—his usual attitude, when beginning to think on any subject that was particularly solemn. His countenance for some instants bore the marks of concern and pain: but a sweet tranquillity and humble resignation soon ensued in his mind, and softened all his features.

* The *asians*, in honour of his memory, established a perpetual yearly festival, called the *Mutian Feast*. (Vide *Cic. Verres* xi. 51.) *Et in ipsâ etiam Româ, gloriâ maximè illustris erat Scævola, utpote qui provinciam tam sanctè & tam fortiter administrasset. Senatus etiam, magistratibus deinceps in eam provinciam ituris, exemplum atque formam officii Scævolam decreto suo proposuit.*

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THE more good, said he, that *Scævola* thus did to others, the better was he enabled to bear adversity himself.

THE time was now come, when the misery which *Rome* had inflicted on other nations, was to be retaliated on herself. *The cup of the anger of the Lord* had been carried round many regions*, and this city was now to drink the dregs of it herself.

O MY dear fellow students, in turning over the history of the world, both ancient and modern, what do we find to be in great measure it's contents? alas! wickedness, and the punishments thereof: *scelera, & pœnas*.

BUT in perusing the dismal histories of the punishment of wicked and hardened nations, we must not wonder, if we should sometimes find several *good* men partaking of the national calamities, and suffering with their respective country. In the present condition of things, and close connexion of mankind one with another, such accidents seem inevitable.

LET me correct my words. It is wrong to call these events *accidental*; since Providence

* Vide *Jeremiam*, c. 25:

seems

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seems often by the same means, and at the same time, to punish some men, to correct others, and to try the good, and by such trials to exalt their characters. *Didici etiam ex hoc inscrutabile Tuum judicium expavescere; qui affligis justum cum impio, sed non sine æquitate & justitiâ*.*

LET US endeavour to consider the history of the *romans* in this light; so far at least as the circumstance of their being pagans may perhaps permit us.

CRITO now rose from the block of marble, on which he had been sitting, and fixed his eyes on the adjoining forum.

IF I be not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, many were the bad men, who in these times greatly contributed to increase the plagues of their country. Such were *Carbo*, *Cinna*, and young *Marius*. But the chief instruments of the divine justice seem to have been *Sylla*, and the elder *Marius*; themselves the most wicked of men, and consequently the most proper to torment others.

*Whose hearts, nor yells of mothers, maids, or babes;
Nor sight of priests in holy vestments bleeding,
Could pierce a jot.*

* *Imitatio*. lib. iii. c. 50.

YOUR

YOUR quotation, replied *Crito*, is very applicable to these times. In the horrid massacres, which, as the various factions prevailed, were then frequently repeated in this city, all regard to justice or humanity was overthrown by those wicked men, and their associates. For how, then, did *this* forum appear? Its rich pavement was all stained with blood; while many mangled bodies were dragged through it, and the neighbouring streets. How horrid a scene! *There* was the *Capitol*; half of it lay then in ruins and ashes: in the remaining part of it,—in *that* ascent to the temples of *Concord* and of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, were exposed to view the *tabularia* of the empire, covered with long proscriptions. *Here* stood the *Rostra*, like a slaughter-house, crowded with the heads of many principal persons; of several in particular, who had done great good to their fellow-citizens in this very place;

———*Simul ora virum præfixa videbant,
Nota nimis miseris, atroque fluentia tabo*.*

A.C.
82 IN one of these massacres *Scævola* retreated to the temple of *Vesta*; to that temple, which stood in the very place where you are now seated. *Scævola* expected, perhaps, that the place, his office, and above all the great notoriety of his

* *ÆNEID. ix. 471.*

excellent character, might be some protection to him: or perhaps, he was willing to die, as *Merula* did some few months before, in a place generally esteemed holy.

SCÆVOLA had always behaved with the greatest regard to his country,—with the greatest firmness and disinterestedness. In the height of his prosperity and power, when consul, he had opposed the improper exaltation of his friends; for ill-judged principles of friendship, and the prostitution of the honours and offices of trust in the public state to such principles, were indeed great causes of the national ruin. In the height of danger he had refused to enter into the civil wars, or to take up arms against his enemies, who were also his fellow-citizens. *Scævola*, like the priest, whom *Josephus* justly celebrates, seems to have thought it much better to remember always, that he was the high-priest of his country; whose office it was to pray for all, to endeavour to unite and reconcile all, to bless and benefit all. He died in the vestments of his priesthood! He died on this spot. *Quia servare cives per compositionem volebat, ipse ab iis interemptus est**:

Dum paci medium se offert,—justissimus unus!

* *Cic. pro Rosc. Amerino*, c. 12. vid. etiam, *VIRG. Æneid.* vii. 536.

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TEARS seemed now to be standing in *Crito's* eyes: he wiped them, and proceeded with the following words.

AFFECTING as the fate of *Scævola* is, thus murdered at the feet of the altar of *Vesta*; yet, O my dear friends, if *Scævola* had been a christian;—if on this spot had stood at the time of his death, not a pagan temple, but, as now, a christian church; how much more exalted might have been your meditations in this place!

MIGHT we not then, perhaps, have presumed to compare him, in some inferiour degree, to *St. James*, the bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was slain in or near the temple; or to *Zacharias*, the son of *Barachias*, who was slain between the temple and the altar?

BUT, let me check these presumptuous thoughts: those names indeed are too holy for such a comparison.

CRITO now pausing, the young gentlemen resumed the conversation. *Crito's* pupil, and his elder friend, made several observations on the murder of *Scævola*.

IT is some comfort, said the young nobleman, to reflect, that *Scævola's* great moral virtues seem
to

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to have been rewarded by the long prosperity of his family. The house of the *Marchesi Mutii* is still, to this day, remaining here, in an honourable rank and plentiful circumstances*. Is it not very remarkable, that no war during the time of the *roman* republic; no tyranny of the emperors; no sword of the *gothic* or *lombard* invaders; no other accident, in the course of so many ages, has been suffered to extirpate the families of *Publicola*, *Fabius*, and *Scævola*?

* * *

By *Crito's* desire the company now stepped into their coach,—which stood waiting for them at some distance,—and took a short airing for an hour or two in the country, on the eastern side of *Rome*. During this excursion they frequently looked towards the distant hills of *Palæstrina*,^{A.C. 82} and recollected the bloody end of young *Marius* in that unhappy city.

As they were re-entering *Rome* by the *Porta Salaria*,—which stands either on the spot, or near the place of the ancient *Porta Collina*,—*Crito*

* It is certain, that the *Marchesi Mutii* are of a very ancient family, and have subsisted these last eight hundred years, with this title, and this tradition of their pedigree. Their present estate is about 1500*l. per annum*. They have two good palaces, and several fiefs in land.

A.C. reminded them of the great battle fought on that
 82 spot between the armies of *Telefinus* and *Sylla*;
 in which fifty thousand men perished on each
 side!

FROM the *Salarian* gate they drove again down
 towards the *Capitol*; and turning short on their
 right at the *venetian* palace, proceeded along the
Corso towards the *Piazza di Spagna*.

IN passing by the *venetian* palace, *Crito* ob-
 served, that on that spot stood the *Villa Publica**,
 where *Sylla*, immediately after his victory over
Telefinus, perpetrated an act of horror, far more
 atrocious than the slaughters of any field of
 battle†.

BUT why, said he, should I thus lead you,
 step by step, along the bloody track of this cruel

* See *Abbate Venuti's Description of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 40.
Tempio di Bellona era sotto il Campidoglio, &c.

† *Octo hominum millia Sullæ se dediderant. Eos in villam publicam ingredi iussos, quasi inter suos milites descripturus, eodem tempore quo senatum in ædem Bellonæ convocari jusserat, crudelissimè trucidavit: multique simul pagani, qui forte eodem venerant, etiam sullanarum partium homines, perierunt. Corpora in Tiberim projecta sunt. Dum tanta multitudo cæditur, ipse verba in senatu faciebat: patribusque ad horribilem tumultum ac clamorem, tot quem millia indignè moritura edebant, exterritis; eodem quo dicere cæperat vultu vocisque tenore; Hoc agite, inquit, patres conscripti, pauci seditiosi jussu meo puniuntur. Quâ tantæ acerbitatis voce, vix quidquam ab ullo homine dictum puto truculentius.*

Freinsb. Supp. lib. lxxxviii. c. 17, 18.

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man? Every part of *Rome*, every part of *Italy*, witnessed some of his dreadful deeds. Your minds, I am sure, loath the subject. Let us hasten to our lodgings: let us finish there this morning what remains of *Sylla's* history; and then—never mention his name more.

ARRIVED at his pupil's lodgings, the company went into *Crito's* apartment; and seating themselves round his table, gave their attention to some papers, which he read to them. These chiefly consisted of extracts from *Freinshemius*, relative to *Sylla's* dictatorship.

IT is true, said *Crito*, that some of the laws, which were made by *Sylla*, when possessed of that supreme magistracy, were wise and salutary to the state. Several cruel usurers and tyrants,—even our own *Richard* the Third, may make the same boast. But *Sylla's* conduct in other respects was very oppressive, and very mean. How mean was his private life at that time! It was passed in the society of the lowest, and the worst of men. How tyrannical was his public behaviour! *Ne nesciatis, quirites.—Mónitos volo victos, ne tertium insani-
entes opus incendio habeant.* A speech suitable only to the tutor of a *Cataline*.

SYLLA, in the third year of his dictatorship, resigned that office. *An ipsum jam pigebat raptæ potestatis? Et quum recordatio delictorum seræ pænitentiae moribus consciam mentem cruentaret, quantas misérias, quàm vile ob præmium, perferret, experientiâ monstrante persenserat? Nam priusquam cupitis potiretur, in his omnem inesse Et solidam animi felicitatem crediderat. Adeptus deinde, quum se pejus etiam excruciaci deprehenderet, odisse atque fastidire cæpit, quod antea, per tot bella civilia, flagrantissimè appetiverat. Hæc exempla docere mortalitatem poterunt, ut priusquam sese præcipitent unde regredi non liceat, consilio regant affectus, iisque rebus quærendis adhibeant, quas, ubi consecuti fuerint, nullo deinceps pudore pænientiæve torqueantur*.*

THESE observations of *Freinshemius* are certainly in a great measure very true, and very important. But so far as relates to *Sylla*, I am in some doubt whether or not he ever intended to continue his dictatorship longer, than till he had established the aristocratic party in the state, and had fully glutted his own vengeance. His ruling passion seems indeed to have been, not ambition; but that infernal temper, revenge.

* *Freinsb. Supp. lib. lxxxix. c. 37, 38.*

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HE died soon afterwards. — In saying these words, *Crito* laid aside his papers; and entered into a conversation as serious, as if the company had been then sitting round the bed of *Sylla*, just after he had expired.

* * *

AFTER some considerable time passed in meditation* on this solemn subject, the company rose, and retired to their several apartments, in order to dress before dinner. As to the manner in which they passed the remainder of the day, it may be sufficient to take notice only, that soon after dinner they parted.

CRITO shut himself up among his books and papers, in order to prepare for to-morrow's lecture.

THE intended subject of this lecture was the character of that great *roman*, *QUINTUS SERTORIUS*; who with very extraordinary ability supported himself, and his proscribed friends in *Spain*, against all the power of *Sylla's* party,

* *Forbear to judge; for we are sinners all.
Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close:
And let us all to meditation.*

Shakspeare, Henry VI.

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during the dictatorship, and for above five years after the death of that tyrannic usurper.

Q. SERTORIUS was a hero, whom adversity never sunk, and prosperity never corrupted. He was illustrious, not only for his conduct, activity, and courage; but for his generosity also. Though an enemy of the bloody *Sylla*, yet had he opposed the return of *Marius* to *Rome*. He was remarkable for a strong love of his country, and for his earnest desire of peace.

FROM his life, written by *Plutarch*, *Crito* had collected several extracts, which he thought would be peculiarly agreeable to his good pupil. The first of these extracts described the filial tenderness, which *Sertorius* bore to his aged mother. Λέγεται ὅτι ἦν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἐπιθυμῶν διατῆν μητέρα, τραφεὶς ὀρφανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ συμπαν ἀνακείμενος ἐκείνῃ, &c. The second contained an account of his intended retreat from the horrid scene of civil war to the *Fortunate* isles: a project, from which *Horace* possibly might have taken the hint of his sixteenth epode:—a project very feasible for so small a number of persons, as would probably accompany *Sertorius* in such an expedition; though very romantic, when applied
to

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to so large a multitude as mentioned by the lyric poet.

GREAT, perhaps, might have been the event of that expedition: perhaps *Sertorius* might have pushed on the expedition so far, *as to make that great discovery*, which prince *Madoc* is supposed to have done; and *Columbus* certainly did, several centuries afterwards.

IN compiling a paper from these materials, *Crito* was very agreeably engaged; when he was at once suddenly damped, by the recollection of the *oscan* children*, and the imposture of the stag. Reflecting on these most unworthy parts of *Sertorius's* history, *Crito* threw aside the paper of his character, and determined to pass over his name in silence; a name, which, if not sullied by those unhappy circumstances, would have been certainly one of the very brightest in the catalogue of *roman* worthies.

WHILE *Crito* was thus employed, the eldest of the young gentlemen also was giving several hours of the afternoon to study. His industry was not, as usual, exercised in the cultivation of some branch of parliamentary science, it was totally confined to the *roman* history.

* Mr. *Hooke*, in the third volume of his *Roman History*, p. 192, expresses much doubt of the truth of that story.

DURING

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A.C.
78 DURING the first hour, the object of his study was the civil war of *Lepidus*;—*Fax illius motus*, says *Florus*, a *Syllæ rogo exarsit*:—a war, which, during it's short continuance, threatened *destruction* to this city. Yesterday evening, while at *Ponte Molle*, he had recollected the *happy* victory, which *Pompey* had *there* gained over the army of *Lepidus*.

HE then proceeded to the history of *Spartacus*, whose insurrection produced a kind of *civil war**, almost as destructive to the inhabitants of *Italy*, as either the *Social* or the *Marian*.

IF, thought he to himself, some able political writer were to take a general view of the history of *Italy*, during the twenty years which intervened between the beginning of the *Social* war,

* This great insurrection was begun by about seventy gladiators: it was augmented by numbers of persons in the same condition of life, and by multitudes of *gallic* and *german* slaves. But the *bulk* of the *vast* armies, which followed the standards of *Spartacus*,—that able general, *Cui nihil ad eximii imperatoris tuendum nomen deerat, præter humilitatem fortis*,—seems most probably to have consisted of the inhabitants of *Italy*. Such also appears to have been the army of seventy thousand men, which he commanded in *Campania*; and that of one hundred and twenty thousand, with which he once dared to march towards *Rome*. On this account, the war of *Spartacus* may perhaps not improperly be considered as a kind of *civil* war. Ἰδεὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης Ἰταλίαν Σπάρτακω μονομαχῶν συστάντα ἐπὶ ῥωμαίους.

Appian's Mithridatic war, edit. *Hen. Steph.* p. 240.

and

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and the conclusion of that of *Spartacus*; might he not with justice consider those annals, as the most dreadful examples of the misery and havoc which mankind has ever suffered from civil distractions? The thirty years civil war in *Germany**, —if the hostilities of that country may be called by that name—seems not to have been half so bloody.

THE two following hours he employed in turning over *Appian's Mithridatic* history: a book, which he had formerly read with due care. The first fifty or sixty pages of that history he now surveyed in a very cursory manner; but, as he drew near the conclusion, his attention became gradually more engaged. With pleasure he regularly perused most part of *Lucullus's* and the whole of *Pompey's* campaigns in the *East*, whether A.C. against that mighty king, or against other states. 65

IT now drawing near evening, he rose from his studies, and took a walk towards that place in the *Campo Marzo*, where *Pompey* erected, in gratitude for these victories, his temple to *Minerva*. The church, which now stands on that spot, is called *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*.

* See the history of the wars and negotiations which preceded the treaty of *Westphalia*, compiled by *Pere Bougeant*, from the memoirs of the comte d'*Avaux*.

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THENCE he continued his walk to the *Campo del Fiore*, where some remains of *Pompey's* theatre are still existing, though covered by the modern palace of the prince *Pio*.

IN returning to his lodgings from this walk, he fell into deep thought on the *civic* characters of *Pompey*, *Lucullus*, *Crassus*, and *Julius Cæsar* *. The senatorial profession of this *english* gentleman unhappily made it almost necessary for him, in his historical studies, to give much time to the consideration of *such* characters. In order to prepare himself for what he was to see in parliament, he was forced to give diligent attention, though not approbation, to the conduct of those men; whose abilities were great, and actions sometimes good; but their intentions in general not upright†.

SUCH was not the case of *Crito's* pupil. His most happy disposition of mind had inclined him to a state of life, far removed from those *great* objects, which excite the turbulent passions; and from that variety of negotiations, and hurry of distractions, under which the most virtuous often find it difficult not to lose sight of their God. His studies also flowed in a far more pleasant

* At the time of *Pompey's* triumph, *Julius Cæsar* was about thirty-eight years of age.

† See Introduction to the first book, vol. i. p. xxvii,

channel, in a much smoother and purer stream. He always rose from them with a better idea of mankind, and of human nature; for his literary amusement was not history in general, but an exquisitely select biography. The daily perusal and reperusal of the lives of some few of the very best men, who ever existed, were his principal amusement: pious reading, meditation, and prayer, were his *business* and *delight*. Happy, happy youth! Of whom, in some degree, it might truly be said, *Ejus cor & cogitatio non cum popularibus & communibus hominum viis erant; sed cum angelis in cælo, aut cum perfectis viris in terrâ.*

IF at any time other objects offered themselves to his consideration, he gave them, comparatively, but a slight attention. Accordingly this afternoon he passed indeed half an hour in turning over some leaves of *Freinshemius*, but diligently employed all the rest of the time in studies more suitable to his own happy genius. In the evening he walked to the *Capitol*: he turned aside there, to view for some moments the fragments of the colossus of *Apollo*, which *M. Lucullus* brought from *Apollonia* to *Rome*: But he soon left them, and crossed over the court to the *Musæum*. On ascending the stairs, he turned into the room on the right, where the brazen vase of *Mithridates*

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dates is preserved; and thence went on to the PHILOSOPHIC chamber.

THE young nobleman, who had come to table at dinner time very richly dressed, passed the afternoon and evening in making visits to some of the most distinguished persons in *Rome*. Indeed, throughout this whole tour it was remarkable, that though he never slighted his countrymen, whom he accidentally met with abroad, yet in general he chiefly kept company with the *italians* when in *Italy*, as with the *french* while in *France*. Among these also he was very careful with whom he made acquaintance. He lived, wherever he came, with the great and eminent; with men honoured and revered in their several countries, not so much for their birth and wealth, as for their virtue and knowledge.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

FIFTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SEVERAL noble villas are situated within the walls of *Rome*. Among these the villa *Ludovisi* bears a *principal* rank, in regard both of it's greatness and beauty.

IT's buildings are enriched with some capital paintings and sculptures, the labours of *Guercino* and *Bernini*. It's gardens are about a mile in circuit; and contain many pleasant walks, some of which are filled with a great number of *antique* statues.

IN one of these walks the *english* company met this morning. After half an hour passed in admiring the beauties of the place. *Crito's* pupil observed, that several of these antique statues were found in digging on the spot. How glad, added he, would the proprietors of some *english* country-seats be, if in digging their ground for new plantations, or moving the soil for other purposes, they had any chance of finding such plenty of antique

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tique sculptures ; such elegant ornaments for the embellishment of their woods and lawns !

IT is no wonder, said the young nobleman, that such treasures of *virtù* should be found on this spot ; as some part of these gardens anciently made a part of the famous *Horti Sallustiani*. You remember in what manner our learned antiquarian described the great extent of those *Sallustian* gardens, and the magnificent structures with which they were adorned.

THE conversation now wandered to the character of *Sallust*. The eldest of the young gentlemen made several observations on this subject. He afterwards proceeded to that *far more worthy topic*, the consideration of *Sallust's writings* ; particularly his history of the *Catalinarian* conspiracy.

How noble an idea, said he, *here* presents itself to our imagination ! I mean, the idea of that
63 grand debate in the *roman* senate, the description of which was perhaps composed by *Sallust in this walk*. On that important day, three persons of the highest names in the *roman* history eminently distinguished themselves in the house. How august must have been the appearance of that parliament, in which *Cicero* presided, while the debate

bate was supported on one side by *Julius Cæsar*, and on the other by *Cato*!

IF I be not mistaken, *Cato* was then a *very young member* *. How pleasing, how encouraging is *this last* circumstance, to persons who may be entering the *british* senate at the same early period of life!

IN which of those celebrated characters, replied *Crito*, with a benevolent smile, would you, dear sir, if you had lived at that time, have chosen to have appeared? In respect of eloquence, notwithstanding the high abilities both of *Cato* and *Cæsar*, you certainly would on the whole have given the preference to *Tully*. As to patriotism, I need not ask you on whom you would have fixed your choice: your ardent looks and language sufficiently declare in favour of young *Cato*.

IN conversing thus the company arrived at the further end of a winding mossy walk, where they found a perfectly undisturbed recess, thickly shaded with ilex and pine.

* *Hic tribunus plebis designatus, adhuc admodum adolescens, pæne inter ultimos interrogatus sententiam tantâ vi animi atque ingenii invehctus est in conjurationem; sic impendentia publici status pericula exposuit; ita consulis virtutem amplificavit, ut universus senatus in ejus sententiam transfret, majorque pars ordinis ejus Catonem prosequerentur domum.*

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

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IN this retired spot stands an antique senatorial statue. Leaning on it's basis, the eldest of the young gentlemen took out a pocket *Sallust*, and read to his friends, not without entering into the warmth and spirit of the orator himself,—the speech of *Cato* in that great debate.

How could I wish, added he in the conclusion, that I had brought with me hither to-day a pocket volume of *Tully's* works, particularly *Orationes illas Catilinaras, tam luculentas, tamque utiles reipublicæ!* We should have had the greatest pleasure in comparing those orations with this of *Cato*; particularly as our kind tutor would have assisted us with his remarks on them.

FAR be it from me, replied *Crito*, to pretend to judge of the eloquence or other *political* talents of those illustrious *roman* senators. It is much more suitable to my profession, as well as to the design of our present course of studies, to endeavour to learn what was good in their *moral* characters.

I wish you would give me leave to ask your opinion, this morning, in relation to the moral character of *Cato*. If you please to take your seats in this pleasant and shady spot, I will desire the liberty to trouble you, for a quarter of an hour,

hour, with some extracts of his life. These extracts are chiefly made from *Plutarch*, but some are taken from *Sallust*. The latter will be particularly agreeable to you *here*; as, perhaps, according to your observation, this garden may be really the place, in which *Sallust* composed some part of his history.

C A T O.

P A R T I.

THERE is not, in the whole *roman* history, any virtuous character, which has been so highly celebrated either by orators and poets, or by philosophers and historians, as that of *Cato*. *Finxit illum ipsa natura ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam; ad omnes denique virtutes magnum hominem & excelsum.* This excellent natural disposition he greatly strengthened and improved, by settling his aim always on *one* most noble object: which was to attain to the most exalted degree of virtue.

HE condescended not to struggle for the low prizes, for which *Lucullus* or *Crassus*, *Cæsar* or *Pompey* were then contending. In that age of general luxury, avarice, and ambition, *non luxuriâ certabat cum luxurioso, non divitiis cum di-*

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vite, non factionibus cum factioso: His elevated design was to excel in that which is most *excellent*; to copy, and if possible to surpass, the *best* examples. *Amore sapientiæ, & moralis præcipue philosophiæ certabat cum sapientibus; virtute certabat cum strenuis, pudore cum modestis, abstinentiâ cum innocentibus.* Or is Cato said, in this noble emulation, to have thirsted for the praise of men. *Quanquam enim facta ejus erant bona, divina, egregia, totiusque vitæ ejus maximus fuit splendor & gravitas; tamen esse quàm videri bonus malebat. Itaque, quo minus gloriam appetebat, eò magis illam assequebatur.*

SUCH is the character of Cato, according to Sallust, and several other ancient writers. On an impartial survey of his history, you will find many of these particulars to be very true: but, on the whole, you will have reason to abate somewhat of the panegyric.

PERHAPS there never was a man,—continued Crito, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen,—to whom his *country* was more obliged for kind and noble *intentions*, and willing *labours* in her service. We shall be strongly inclined to this opinion, if we examine his conduct in the many public characters, which at different times he sustained.

SORRY

SORRY ought I to be, that I am obliged to observe, that in one unhappy part of his life he carried his regard for his country much too far. Commanded by that country,—if the assemblies of the people, under the influence of a *Clodius* deserve that name,—to take the management of an unjust war against the king of *Cyprus*, *Cato* obeyed. He obeyed, though unwillingly, *it is said by some writers**, in order to prevent seditions and farther confusions at home.

IN the execution of this office he restored peace and tranquillity at *Byzantium*. He endeavoured to soften the fate of that unhappy prince against whom he acted. With the greatest fidelity he delivered into the public treasury all the spoils of the war, and all the treasures and furniture of the royal palace of *Cyprus*. Of these he accepted nothing for himself, except a statue of *Zeno*, which he brought to *Rome*.

HE refused all honours from his country, and all rewards. As his only recompence, he desired that he might be permitted to give liberty to some of the unhappy captives.

* Ανγκραγοντ^ς δε τε Κάτωνος ως ενεδρα το πραγμα, και προπηλα-
κισμ^ς, ου χαρις εστιν, υπερηφανως ο Κλωδι^ς και ολιγωρως: Ουκην,
ειπεν, ει μη χαριν εχεις, ανιωμεν^ς πλευση. Και προελθων ευθυς εις
τον δημον, ΕΚΤΡΩΣΕ ΝΟΜΩ την εκπεμψιν τε Κατων^ς.

Plutarchus, Catonis Vita.

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THESE actions, certainly, are marks of a good mind; and yet, they are not sufficient to justify him for having engaged in this unjust war. *Ptolemy* might deserve to be punished for his vices; yet surely *Cato* must have been greatly deceived, in thinking that *Rome* had any authority to dethrone that king.

BUT let us turn our eyes from this *probably indefensible* part of his history. In most of its other parts we shall find his love of his country to deserve very high commendations.

THIS paper, which I now take in my hand, contains some imperfect *extracts* from *Plutarch*, relative to *Cato's* conduct in four or five different public stations. Permit me to read it to you; and to add my strong wishes, that you could find time to-night, before you sleep, to peruse *Cato's* life, as written by that good man.

1. PART of *Cato's* life was military. He had at several times the command of considerable bodies of forces. In that station he is said to have behaved very nobly. Highly esteemed indeed he was by all men, but he was particularly beloved and almost adored by his soldiers; for he kept up his authority, but added to it persuasion and instruction. He was continually bestowing
on

on them either rewards or punishments, according to their deserts. Whatever he commanded to be done by others, he himself took part in performing *. In diet and labour he made himself equal to the common soldier; in love of discipline, in courage and conduct, he was equal, if not superior, to most of the generals of *Rome*.

BUT, what was much more important, he reformed the avarice and cruelty of the *roman* army, which was very infamous at that time for its oppressions, both public and private, on the country. *Cato* looked on it as a small matter, singly to show *himself* virtuous. He endeavoured to make all *his* soldiers like himself. In a word, he rendered *his* forces so well disciplined, that it was hard to say whether they were more valiant or just. Under his guidance, they were formidable to their enemies, but peaceable and courteous to all others: they were fearful to do wrong, brave and forward to act nobly.

IN relation to this conduct of *Cato* towards the soldiers, as well as that of *Scævola* towards the

* The like excellent character is given of the *spartan* *Lycurgus*; of whom *Justin* says, *Nil, lege ullâ, in alios sanxit, cujus non ipse primus, in se, documenta daret*. "He ordained nothing by law concerning others, of which he did not first set them a pattern, in his own behaviour."

HISTOR. lib. iii. c. ii.

publicans, I find on my papers a reference to the third chapter of *St. Luke*, verses 12, 13, 14. But let us proceed.

2. *AS* tribune, and as *prætor*, Cato acted with great spirit;—the spirit, not of turbulent faction, but of true patriotism; of eager contention in the cause of liberty. Conscious of his own innocence and virtue, he was continually stemming and resisting the general luxury and corruption of the times. With the greatest constancy and fortitude, he was intrepid in resisting all factions: unmoved by the tumults and violence of the people, and by the threats and hatred of the great, whether separated in their interests, or combined together against him. He was invincible by all temptations which could be proposed; and far superiour to all the affronts and ridicule, which could be cast on him by those, who at the same time really most envied his glory.—In public, indeed, as well as in private life, you will always, dear sir, find the knaves endeavouring to represent the honest men in a ridiculous light.

3. *ON* the tribunal of justice, Cato, as you well know, was above all influence of corruption or fear. He was respected by all: he was dreaded by the guilty: yet his severity to them was in
reality

reality the mere consequence of his compassion for the public.

HE supported *the majesty of the laws*, above the power of *Pompey*, or the interest of any other great men. In all these things he showed the most firm attachment to justice and truth.

How could such a man, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, miss obtaining the highest honours in the state? How much was it to be wished, for the sake of his country, that he had succeeded in his election for the consulship! In that high office he might perhaps have prevented the civil war, which broke out, if I mistake not, in the following year.

HIS loss of that election, replied *Crito*, seems indeed to have been a very great misfortune to the public. But it was no personal affliction to himself; for he bore the loss with so much magnanimity, as to turn that event to his still greater glory. The splendour of virtue is, as his example showed, independent of the suffrages of the people. It is far superiour to all honours; and, on the other hand, no popular ignorance or injustice can tarnish it's lustre. *Horace* perhaps alluded to this part of *Cato's* history.

Virtus,

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*Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus :
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ*.*

But let us proceed to the consideration of *Cato's* merits, in some other public stations, in which he was really placed.

4. IN the office of *quæstor*, or manager of the public treasury, *Cato* exercised the greatest diligence, abilities, and fidelity. He reduced the national accounts, from a state of confusion, into good order : he took care, that the public during his administration of the exchequer, should neither do nor suffer wrong : he punctually exacted whatever was due to the treasury,—forcing, particularly, several of *Sylla's* blood-hounds, to refund the spoils of their rapine and cruelty ; and on the other hand, he with great readiness paid all persons, who had just demands on government. On the whole, he left the treasury in a flourishing condition ; and made it evidently appear, how the state may be made rich, without oppressing the people.

5. I WISH, dear sir, that I were able to describe, in a proper style, the conduct of *Cato*

* CARM. lib. iii. od. 2.

in his greatest public station, in his senatorial office.

IN the roman senate, Cato was much admired for his *eloquence*. He was still more respected for *those other talents*, without which all strength of genius, all sweetness and charms of language, are very insufficient qualifications for a senatorial life: I mean *industry* and *integrity*.

FROM the first day on which he took his seat in the house, he applied himself to *business* with the most indefatigable diligence. He was continually employed, either in informing himself on some matter of moment, or in doing his duty by communicating his lights to others:

Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo.

BUT his senatorial *integrity* chiefly merits your attention. It gained him general veneration while alive; and during all succeeding centuries, it has made his name the symbol of patriotic virtue.

ON a subject so well known, I need to speak but little. Suffer me only to observe, that Cato was in the senate, uniformly, the same honest man as when seated on the bench of the judges, or
when

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when employed in any branch of business, whether of public or private life.

* * *

CRITO here paused,—some conversation *accidentally* rising, relative to the glorious character of integrity, which the judges of *England* have acquired, in a degree far superiour to the judges of *France*, or to those of several other countries.

It was not long however, before the young nobleman desired *Crito* to continue his lecture.

I FIND in my memorandum-papers, said *Crito*, two instances of *Cato's senatorial* conduct particularly marked down: one to be considered as an example of his love to his country; the other, as an instance of his justice to the rest of mankind.

1. HE very greatly assisted *Cicero*, in saving *Rome* from that destruction, with which the *Catilinarian* conspiracy threatened it. But it is needless for me to trouble you with any reflections on this head, as it has been the subject of your conversation this morning.

2. THE second particular is related by *Plutarch* as follows.

JULIUS

JULIUS CÆSAR attacked the *germans*, who at that time were at peace with the *romans*; and put three hundred thousand of them to the sword. His party made a motion in the senate, that a public thanksgiving should be proclaimed on the occasion: But *Cato*, on the contrary, earnestly argued, that *Cæsar* should be given up by the *roman* government to the vengeance of those nations, whom, probably without any command from his country, he had invaded. “By such a sacrifice, said he, let us endeavour to expiate the injustice of this war. It is highly proper, however, that the motion for a thanksgiving should be approved, since we have great reason to thank the gods. They have as yet spared the commonwealth; and not taken vengeance on our armies, for the cruelty and wickedness of our general.”

NOBLE was this sentiment;—but it would have been far more noble, if *Cato* himself had been so happy, as never to have seen the shores of *Cyprus*.

IF I be not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, a similar sentiment is expressed by *Livy*, in one of the speeches of *Paulus Æmilius* *. But pray proceed.

* *Livy*, book xxxviii. c. 45, 46.

* * *

WE have been superficially considering, replied *Crito*, the conduct of this celebrated patriot, during the period in which the *roman* republic stood. For some time the commonwealth supported itself, though shaken to it's lowest roots by the continual storms of faction and anarchy ;

——— *illa usque minatur,*

Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat *.

BUT, soon after the conclusion of *Cæsar's gallic* and *german* campaigns, that fatal civil war broke out, which *Cato* had long foretold, and laboured to prevent.

THE conduct of *Cato* in the civil war seems, in several respects, very similar to that amiable behaviour of lord *Falkland*, which you, dear sir, have often admired, in the fourth and seventh books of *Clarendon's* history.

CATO, like lord *Falkland*, was always fighting and labouring for peace. Αἰ μὲν εἶχετο μίαν γνώμην, ἐλπίζων διαλύσεις.

* VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 628.

WHEREVER

WHEREVER *Cato* had the command, he was very merciful to the inhabitants of the country which was the seat of war.

By *his* persuasion it was agreed, at a council held in *Pompey's* camp, that, during the course of the campaign, no city should be sacked, and no *roman* should be killed, but in the heat of battle.

IN the progress of the war, *Cato* bore patiently much fatigue and distress. In the few engagements at which he was present, he showed much personal courage; and animated his friends with a considerable degree of the same spirit: Yet never did he rejoice for any victory.

IMMEDIATELY after the obtaining of any success, *Cato* visited with sorrow the field of battle; he there bewailed that cursed ambition, which was the destruction of so many of his countrymen: he shed tears on the corpses even of *Cæsar's* soldiers.

INDEED, from the day on which this civil war broke out, to the day of his death, *Cato's* countenance was filled with a fixt melancholy, a perpetual sadness; unchanged by any success, which at any time attended his own party.

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ON the other hand, in all the heavy misfortunes, and repeated defeats, which at last totally sunk it, he was himself unmoved; but condescending to those of his friends, who were willing to make their peace with the conqueror. He was anxious and indefatigable, to his last breath, in doing every thing in his power, that could be beneficial to them.

*Can any thing be thought of for their service?
Whilst I yet live, let me not live in vain*.*

* * *

SCARCE had *Crito* repeated these lines, when his pupil's servant came, to acquaint him, that at the garden-gate there was a person, who was desirous of speaking to him, if he were at leisure. On this notice *Crito* immediately rose, and went with the servant to the gate. The young gentlemen also quitted their mossy seats, and employed a quarter of an hour in walking about the garden.

DURING this walk, *Crito's* pupil observed, that the first four acts of the tragedy of *Cato* were composed by Mr. Addison during his residence at

* ADDISON'S *Cato*.

Rome.

Rome. Is it not probable, said he, that *Addison* then frequently visited *these Sallustian gardens*, and composed here some of the most shining passages?

*But oh! my friends, your safety fills my heart
With anxious thoughts: a thousand secret terrors
Rise in my soul: how shall I save my friends?
'Tis now, O Cæsar, I begin to fear thee.*

HAD *Cato*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, any just reason to fear *Cæsar* on this account? *Cæsar* was indeed a man of blood, and had in his former wars destroyed some millions of his fellow-creatures; but yet, in general, his behaviour to his enemies, in this contest with *Pompey*, had been full of clemency.

THIS learned young gentleman began now to expatiate on *Cæsar's* mercy, contrasting it with the cruelty of *Sylla* in the foregoing civil war. He proceeded next to consider *Cæsar's* courage, activity, and astonishing abilities of mind. He spoke much of several of his great exploits: he concluded however his reflections on the life of this most famous man, by repeating some of *Addison's* verses.

——— 'Tis an impious greatness;
And mixt with too much horror to be envied*.

DURING this part of the conversation the company arrived at the garden-gate. They found *Crito* there with the *irish* painter, who had been lately relieved by the young nobleman's generosity. This was the first day of his venturing abroad, after his late illness: he was still very weak, and far from well; yet he had been at his noble patron's lodgings already this morning; and hearing that he was gone to the *Ludovisi* gardens, had followed him thither, being very desirous of taking the earliest opportunity to express his gratitude.

IT is needless to add, that on this occasion the young nobleman behaved with all possible politeness and humanity. After some time they separated: the painter returned to his lodgings, and our *english* company proceeded to the adjoining circus of *Sallust*.

* A noble modern writer, the author of the *Dialogues of the Dead*, sums up *Cæsar's* character in the following manner:

"*Cæsar's* courage and talents were equal to the object to which his ambition aspired,—the dominion of the world: and he exercised a sovereignty unjustly acquired with a magnanimous clemency. But it would have been better for his country, and for mankind, if he had never existed."

So

So extensive were the gardens of *Sallust*, as to contain, beside many other buildings, a large circus. Of this there are to this day some considerable remains*. On it's southern side is to be seen an antique octangular temple, rendered at present a kind of grotto, by the ruins of other structures, which have fallen on it, and almost buried it. *Sallust*, probably in compliment to his patron *Julius Cæsar*, consecrated this temple to *Venus*.

THIS fabric, said the young nobleman while entering it, seems to have been a kind of monument, erected by *Sallust* in honour of *Cæsar's* exploits. The statue of *Venus*, which was placed in this temple, was adorned, if I be not mistaken, with a corslet of *british* pearls. These pearls came, I suppose, from *Sandwich*. About two or three years ago I was on a visit at a gentleman's house in that neighbourhood. We rode one morning, I remember, to the old *roman* walls at *Rutupiæ*: another morning we rode towards *Deal* and *Dover*; frequently recollecting in the way the description of that coast in *Cæsar's* Commentaries.

I HAVE also had the pleasure, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, of taking the same ride.

* See *Abbate Venuti's* Roman Antiquities, vol. i. p. 86, 87.

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The summer before last I made the tour of the coasts of *Kent* and *Suffex*. My *principal desire* was to see the ground, on which *Julius Cæsar* had trodden.—I was not then satiated with *roman* antiquities. I had also some curiosity to visit the shore in *Kent*, where the *saxon Hengist*; and in *Suffex*, where the *norman* conqueror landed. Ought not our pride to be humbled, when we reflect how often in ancient times our island has been invaded and subdued?

EACH of these conquests, replied *Crito*, though they might justly appear very heavy calamities at the times when they happened, yet in their long consequences have produced very considerable benefit to our island.

To the *roman* conquest *Britain* owes, perhaps, it's first civilization; certainly it's first conversion to christianity.

To the *saxon* conquest we are indebted for that system of government, which is to this day the basis of *english* liberty. Many good effects of *saxon* piety also are still great blessings to us.

To the *norman* conquest we owe not perhaps so much respect. Yet we may be certain, that
Providence

Providence intended some real good by that great event.

You were mentioning your journey to *Suffex*: Give me leave to recollect, that many years ago, when I was a very young man, I was also in that county. From *Brighthelmstone* I made with some friends a short voyage to *Dieppe*. During that voyage, we often thought of the hostile fleets, *roman*, *saxon*, and *norman*, which in various ages have crossed, or rather filled the *british* channel. The *Portus Iccius*, indeed, was then at a considerable distance from us, but the port of *St. Valery en Somme*, whence *William* the Conqueror set sail with eight hundred vessels*, lay but some few leagues to the northward of our track. We landed at *Dieppe*; and during the few days that we passed there, had great pleasure in reading the latter part of *sir William Temple's* introduction to the history of *England*: we had fortunately brought that book with us from *Bright-helmstone*.

DID you go up any higher into *Normandy*? said *Crito's* pupil. I have heard it is a very fine country, and very like to *England*.

* The fleet of *Julius Caesar*, and the fleet of *William* the Conqueror, each consisted of above eight hundred sail.

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WE went up no farther than *Rouen*, replied *Crito*. The country seemed to us to resemble the open parts of *Northamptonshire*: it has however greatly the advantage of that country, by being situate at least four degrees more to the south. It abounds with apple-trees, planted, not in orchards, as in our cyder-counties; but in straight rows along the roads, or scattered up and down in the corn fields. You would have great pleasure in making a short tour through that province of *France*, especially as in various parts of it you would probably see many marks, still remaining, of it's connection with *England* in former ages.

SIMILAR observations occurred to me, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, in the first part of our present long tour; I mean, while we were in those parts of *Germany*, from which our *saxon* ancestors came.—But surely, dear sir, you have at present an opportunity of favouring us with some very noble reflections. These gloomy and solitary *roman* ruins cannot fail of suggesting to you a train of important sentiments; especially, if you be of our noble young friend's opinion, that this edifice was built partly at least on occasion of the first connexion of *Britain* with the *roman* empire.

I AM

I AM by no means capable, replied *Crito*, of supporting the dignity of that topic. Besides, it is now late in the morning: if you please we will return to our lodgings. You may there meditate at leisure on all the various changes which have happened to our country. But why do I say *happened*? I remember a noble reflection of *Bosquet*, towards the conclusion of his universal history. *Ne parlons plus ni de hazard ni de fortune; ou parlons en seulement comme d'un nom, dont nous couvrons notre ignorance. C'est DIEU, qui prepare les effets dans les causes les plus éloignées; & qui frappe ces grands coups, dont le contrecoup porte si loin.*

THE company now walked to their lodgings. During that walk, and at dinner-time also, the conversation chiefly dwelt on the state of *Britain* in *Cæsar's* time. It afterwards returned to *Cato's* character; the young nobleman politely reviving that topic, in compliment to *Crito*.

I COULD wish, said he, that the statue of *Zeno*, which, as you informed us this morning, *Cato* brought hither from *Cyprus*, were still preserved in some of the *roman* musæums. In that case, I

should have been very glad of the pleasure of attending you on a visit to it this afternoon.

THERE is in the *Capitoline* museum, replied *Crito's* pupil, a noble statue of that philosopher. You *must* remember it; it is the most remarkable piece of sculpture in the *stanza dei filosofi*. It was found in the ruins of the villa of *Antoninus Pius*.

Possibly, said the young nobleman, it may be the identical statue; at least we may fancy it so, and visit it with that idea. If you please we may walk thither in the evening, as soon as we have had our tea. I should be very glad to take a walk to that part of the town, as I want to call at the print shop, at the upper end of the *Corso*.

* * *

THE bell of the *Capitol* clock struck three and twenty *, when this *english* company arrived there. They went up stairs into the museum; and passing through several of its apartments, proceeded to the *stanza dei filosofi*, where they sat down, being much heated by their long walk.

CRITO'S pupil was the first, who recovered his spirits after this fatigue.

* FIVE, in the afternoon.

THERE

THERE is not, said he, with peculiar earnestness, any part of the *Capitoline* musæum more pleasing, or more instructive, than this apartment; this *philosophic chamber*, as it is justly called, from it's being filled with two such noble ranges of near an hundred antique busts of most of the learned men of *Greece*, particularly the philosophers of *Athens*.

I CAME hither alone yesterday afternoon, and perused in this chamber part of *Milton's Paradise Regained*. I then considered myself as present, not only

*On the Tarpeian rock, the citadel
Of great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enricht
Of nations.*

But what is a far more pleasing idea.

Ω Χαίρε' Αθηνων, Χαίρε Φιλτατη πολις.

*Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts,
Of eloquence, and sage philosophy,
From heav'n descended to the low-rooft house
Of Socrates! —**

* Par. Reg. b. iv. 240 and 273.

Saying

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Saying this, he approached the bust of *Socrates*, which is placed near that of *Homer*, fronting the entrance.—How deservedly—continued he, addressing himself to his noble young friend—may the busts of these two great men claim their station in all such musæums as this; one at the head of all the philosophers, the other at the head of all the tragic and lyric poets of *Greece*! These two indeed, *gave breath to all the rest*. How fortunate is the education of those young men, who in poetry chiefly study the one, in philosophy the other of these most exalted geniuses!

THINKING of this, I was highly pleased just now, when, in passing through the first apartment of this musæum, you stopped to admire the elegant design of that marble sepulchre, found in the villa of *Alexander Severus*: at one end of which is *Homer*, receiving his book from the genius of poetry; at the other, *Socrates*, attending to the instructions of a veiled figure, which leans on a column, and represents moral philosophy: the whole front of the monument being filled with the statues of the nine *musæ*s, all of the finest sculpture.

WHILE you were so happy here yesterday, in the company of *Milton*, said *Crito*, I was not less so at home, in that of *Xenophon*. You left your
Xenophon

Xenophon on your table, open at the conclusion of one of his *Socratic* discourses. I could not help taking it up, and reading with great pleasure the last sentence, which breathes such grateful affection to the memory of his beloved master, exceeded only by a still greater love and thirst of virtue. Εγω μὲν δὴ κατανοῶν τὸν ἀνδρὸς τὴν τε σοφίαν, καὶ τὴν γενναϊότητα, οὐτε μὴ μεμνησθαι δυναμαὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτε μεμνημένῳ μὴ ἔτι ἐκθαίνειν. Εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμώτερον τινὶ Σωκράτης συνέγενετο, ἐκείνου ἐγὼ τὸν ἀνδρὰ ΑΞΙΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΝ νομίζω. Or could I help reflecting then with due gratitude, how we are all blessed with *that high happiness*, the idea of which *Xenophon* regarded with such admiration; and with a desire, which seems to have something of divine inspiration. We have all of us an instructor and leader in the path of virtue, *far superiour* to *Socrates*. Let us then make the best use of all these lights so graciously bestowed on us. In the study of ethical institution from the moralists of *Greece*, let us principally confine ourselves to the study of the doctrines of the *benevolent* and *humble Socrates*: in a far superiour study, let us apply ourselves principally to learn and imbibe the character and temper of it's most *beneficent*, and most *humble*, though *DIVINE* founder. Happy, truly happy, are those, whose education is founded *on these two bases!*

BUT,

BUT, at present, let us have the pleasure of following you round this room; and of making with you a short visit to these several philosophers, who were almost all of them men of great genius, though none of them equal to *Socrates*.

SAYING this, and passing by *Epicurus*, he stopt a considerable time in silence before the busts of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. He then proceeded to the statue of *Zeno*.

AFTER hearing the observations of his young friends relative to the sculpture of this statue, he drew a chair near to it's pedestal; and sitting down, desired leave to finish in that place those papers relative to *Cato's* character, which he had begun to read to them this morning in the *Ludovisi* gardens.

C A T O.

P A R T II.

THE character of *Cato* is so famous, that in forming a catalogue of *roman* worthies, his name could not with any propriety be omitted. At the same time the truth of history will oblige us to own, that in several particulars this great man was much misled,

HE

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HE was certainly so, as we observed this morning, in the affair of *Cyprus*. Probably, a mistaken principle of obedience to the commands of his country engaged him in that unjust expedition.

THE other principal objections to his character are the several marks, which appear in it, of harshness and severity, of pride and want of condescension in accomodating himself to those customs and manners of the age, which in themselves were indifferent. Add to these, some great errors in family-life; and above all, the most unhappy catastrophe of his last hour. A.C. 46

BUT, on the other hand, how many circumstances are there to be found in his history, which evidently show, as *Tully* observes, *quòd hæc omnia non à naturâ Catonis erant!*

CATO'S temper, though full of spirit and resolution, was far from being deficient in tenderness, or mercy. This is plain, not only from his amiable conduct during the civil war, which was mentioned this morning, but also from many other of his actions. He was constantly disinclined to all unnecessary punishments. He always showed the greatest gentleness, courtesy, and good-nature to all in private life. *Eâ conditione Cato nobis in*
hâc

hâc civitate natus est, ut ejus opes & ingenium, præsidio multis etiam alienissimis: vix cuiquam inimico exitio esse deberet. Bona M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut multis prodesse posset.* His person and lands were devoted to the service of his friends. The sweetness of his temper is, above all, most visible in that regard, which he bore to his brother; and which was continually increasing, even from his most early years: never perhaps was there a more amiable and beautiful scene of fraternal love, than that which is contained in *Cato's* history.

IN point of pride, he certainly was *in general* averse to flattery. He often refused honours, and seems to have done so from a motive of real humility: for when every one thought him worthy of the highest honour, he alone was of the contrary opinion.

As to want of condescension in accommodating himself to the times, he certainly often showed great wisdom in yielding, as far as he thought he might, in order to prevent greater evil.

I WISH I could be totally silent in regard to the dismal, and never sufficiently lamented end of

* See *Tally's* oration for *Muræna*.

Cato's life. Most unworthy was it of his former fortitude and virtue; and far inferiour to the example, which the pontifex *Scævola* had shown here at *Rome*, or to that which *Regulus* had shown in the same african country;—for *Carthage* was almost within sight of *Utica**. On this subject I ought to speak most unwillingly: yet let me observe, that some kind of despondency, or fear, is always the original motive of suicide; fear either of shame, pain, want, or somewhat similar;—a passion, which surely never had a place in *Cato's* natural constitution.

To what cause then are most of the stains, in the character of *Cato*, to be attributed? Probably to his instructors, the stoics; for in their writings, most of these capital defects are described as moral excellencies.

LET us attend to what *Cicero* says in various places on this subject. *In Marco Catone hæc bona quæ videmus divina & egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia, non a naturâ suâ, sed a magistro. His enim tot tantisque ejus virtutibus accessit adjumentum doctrinæ, non moderatæ, neque mitis, sed af-*

* See the comparison of the character of *Regulus* with that of *Cato* in this respect, in *St. Austin's* book *de Civitate Dei*, lib. i. c. 24.

perioris ac durioris. Stoicorum scilicet disciplinam auctoribus eruditissimis inductus arripuit, & talium præceptorum (Zenonis præsertim, summo ingenio viri, magistri sui) studiis flagravit. How much is it indeed to be wished, ut ad alios magistros aliqua te fortuna, Cato, cum illâ naturâ detulisset!

YET, seated as we are at present by Zeno's statue, let us not omit to do proper justice even to the stoics themselves. Many of their doctrines are very noble, very exalted; many of their examples deserve our study, and claim our imitation. But, at the same time that we acknowledge this, let us again and again bless Providence, for having assisted *us* with other examples, far more perfect than those of any *roman* worthy: with other instructions, far more correct and complete than this *grecian* philosophy, which thus abounded with many errors, mixed with much wisdom, and taught great vices, mixed with great virtues.

CRITO now began to consider the christian religion, in contrast with the stoic philosophy. There is no need to insert here the particulars of his discourse: they seem indeed to be in some measure foreign from the subject of these *Roman Conversations*. It may be sufficient to observe in general, that his discourse was, in it's beginning,

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ning, cool ; it was throughout learned and judicious ; but in it's progress, his heart became gradually warm ; and at the conclusion broke out into a pure *flame* of piety.

THE christian character, said he towards the close, is not only more grand, than any imagined perfection in this so much celebrated philosophy ; but it has also a grace, amiableness, and beauty, which never adorned any stoic vision. Much fuller is it, than stoicism, of the spirit of true justice, but infinitely fuller of benevolence and mercy : fuller of the spirit of just inflexibility in what is right ; but still more full of condescension and sweetness : fuller of fortitude ; but infinitely more abounding in patience, resignation, and hope : greater as to exaltation of mind ; but infinitely greater in humility, and in the most grateful acknowledgement, that all it's virtues are the gifts of heaven.

*All that we have and are, we have received, O
Lord, from Thy grace :*

*All that we desire and hope, we humbly expect in
Thy glory.*

INDULGE me, my dear fellow students, in these reflections. The grace of heaven is the great

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distinguishing blessing of the christian dispensation: we cannot employ our meditations on a subject more sublime.

I REMEMBER, that about last *Whitsuntide* I was taking a solitary walk in this part of *Rome*, and passed by a church situated in one of the narrow lanes at the foot of *this Capitoline hill*. The hymn of *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, was then performing there, set to most affecting solemn music. In attending to some of the notes and words of that heavenly harmony, I could not avoid recollecting a passage in a very venerable writer; who, though somewhat barbarous in his language,—as he lived probably about the time of our king *Richard the Second*,—yet in his sentiments is generally very exalted; far more so, on the whole, than *any of these philosophers*.

*O verè cælestis Gratia, sine quâ nihil doctrina,
nihil eloquentia, nihil ingenium valet, in conspectu Dei!*

*O beatissima Gratia, quæ pauperem spiritu,
virtutibus divitem facis: & divitem multis bonis,
humilem corde reddis!*

*Veni! descende ad nos! Tu fortitudo nostra.
Tu auxilium confers, & consilium. Tu lumen
cordis.*

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*cordis. Tu fugatrix tristitiæ, & ablatrix timoris.
Tu devotionis nutritrix.*

*Tu nos semper prævenias, & bonis operibus
jugiter præstes esse intentos*.*

** Imitatio Christi. lib. iii. c. 55.*

C H A P. VI.

SIXTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE character of *Cicero* being the intended subject of this day's conversation, the company agreed to meet early in the *Farnese* gardens, which cover most part of the summit of mount *Palatine*; and, after passing an hour there, to set out from them in their coach, and dine at *Frescati*, a town about twelve miles distant from *Rome*.

THE northern part of the *Farnese* gardens was the appointed place of their meeting. *Crito* walked thither about nine o'clock,—according to his *english* watch*,—and found his beloved company all arrived there before him.

THE young nobleman had seated himself on a projecting part of the hill, and was taking a sketch of the narrow valley of the *Forum Romanum*, which lay beneath him, and of the opposite *Clivus Capitolinus*.

* Or *fifteen* o'clock, in modern *Italy*.

His pupil was leaning against a cypress, and silently studying an octavo, which contained some of *Tully's* rhetorical and philosophical works.

THE third young gentleman was walking with a volume of the *Orations* in his hand; sometimes reflecting with high pleasure, that *Tully's* house stood in *this part* of the *Farnese* gardens*; sometimes repeating aloud several of that great orator's shining periods.

CRITO listened to him for a considerable time with great attention, and then, being always ready to partake of the satisfaction felt by any part of this good company, he turned round to the young nobleman, and admired all the merit of his drawing.

HE afterwards sat down under the cypress by his pupil's side.

THE company now desired him to favour them, as usual, with the contents of one of his papers.

BEFORE I begin, said he, to speak of the character of *Tully*, which has been represented by several eminent writers in *very different* lights, I

* See Abbate *Venuti's* Roman Antiquities, vol. i. p. 15.

ought to premise, that I by no means think myself a competent judge of the question: my judgment is far too weak, my knowledge far too superficial. When I composed this paper, I lay under another disadvantage also, being in great want of proper books to consult on the occasion. Neither can a traveller carry a library with him, nor must he expect to have this want supplied at the bookseller's shops, in the towns through which he passes. The only book of the kind, which I could then procure, was a *Middleton's Cicero*, which I bought at *Modena*; and which had belonged to a *scottish* gentleman, who died there on his travels.

THE paper in my hand, as you will therefore expect, consists of little more than mere extracts from *Dr. Middleton*. In some future year of your lives, you may perhaps allot some leisure time for thorough and impartial examination of *Cicero's* character. You will be greatly assisted in that examination, by some books which have been lately published in *France* and *England*, and by others which are said to be now preparing for the press. Long before that time, you will have totally forgotten, that I ever troubled you with a paper on the subject; otherwise it would be proper, that I should make an apology for it. Indeed, when I recollect the criticisms made by
some

some learned persons on *Cicero's* conduct, I am afraid, that in this paper his defects are too much concealed or palliated: and on the contrary, when I take up *Dr. Middleton*, I have the greatest reason to think, that in this my very imperfect compilation I have not done justice to the hundredth part of his merit.

C I C E R O.

P A R T I.

IT seems a considerable mark, not only of a goodness of heart, but also of real strength of understanding,—and a very proper method for improving both these qualities,—if, in the consideration of any great and exalted character, the student observes indeed it's defects, yet neither dwells too much on them, nor views them in the most unfavourable light; but candidly considers the whole character together, and then applies his attention more peculiarly to the study of those parts, which are the most noble or beautiful.

THE character of *Cicero* has, for many ages, excited the attention, and, *generally speaking*, the admiration of mankind.

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IN discoursing on such a character, let us be as silent as possible in relation to it's imperfections; and, according to the generous scope and intention of these our *Roman Conversations*, endeavour to improve ourselves as much as we can, by diligently studying it's real excellencies.

LET us consider, that though *Cicero* lived in one of the most corrupt ages that ever was known, yet he was totally free from any stain, either of avarice, or luxurious debauchery.

As to pride, the third great vice of those times, *Cicero* had nothing of that cruel *roman* haughtiness, which was the occasion of much misery to *Rome*, and to those nations, who had any connection with her. *Cicero* was not proud of any actions, which were vicious in themselves, or hurtful to other persons. He was not proud of riches or power. It must be indeed acknowledged, that he was vain, very vain, of the great abilities of mind, which he really possessed, and of the important services, which he had really performed for his country. This vanity is one of the universally acknowledged weaknesses in *Tully's* character. Had he been more *humble and lowly in his own sight*, he certainly would have been not only a much happier, but a much better man:
for

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for humility in itself is a great virtue, and is also the foundation of many others.

BUT humility was an excellence little known in the heathen world.

LET us then turn our thoughts to those virtues, which may, with more probability, be expected in a heathen character.

IN private life, *Cicero* was a kind and generous master; he was an excellent father; he was grateful to his benefactors, and sincerely zealous for his friends, whether they were in prosperity or in adversity. His works abound with these noble sentiments, and his life is full of examples of them. On this head, permit me, my dear pupil, to refer you to the beginning of the twelfth section in *Dr. Middleton's* history.

CICERO loved his country: *Φιλοπατρις* ην, as even *Octavius* owned: he laboured to support it's ancient constitution and liberty. He sometimes showed great intrepidity in resisting the attempts of it's enemies: at other times, it must be acknowledged, he seems to have been silent, as if over-awed. Perhaps this might be real weakness of mind. On the other hand, it may possibly, and with justice be urged, that *Tully* might think

think he best served his country, by occasionally suspending an useless opposition to the irresistible power of those, who had usurped the national authority. He might deem it more patriotic, as well as more prudent, to soften them by patience and submission; and by proper management to conduct them into such a train of thought and action, as might produce something considerably beneficial to the public.

BUT however this may be, the fairest method, certainly, of passing judgment on the political character of *Tully*, is to examine how he behaved, when he himself was in power.

IT was then, indeed, that the splendour of his character shone forth in it's true lustre. At those times his appearance in the history of his country discloses itself with as much dignity, as attended the *founder of this roman empire*; when, according to the description which you, my dear pupil, have often admired in *Virgil*,—he discovered himself, in the fullest majesty, before the tribunals and senate of *Carthage*.

*Scindit se nubes, & in æthera purgat apertum:
Restitit Æneas, clarâque in luce refulsi*.*

* *ÆNEID.* lib. i. 591.

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LET us consider his conduct while governor of *Cilicia*: we shall find in it much patriotism, much philanthropy. He had in his youth behaved very well, while quæstor at *Syracuse*; but this *asiatic* government produced a very considerable addition of honour to his character.

CICERO seems to have followed, in a great measure, the glorious plan of government, which his master *Scævola* had observed in *Asia Minor*.

CICERO principally directed his attention to avert the grievances of his province, by lightening that heavy load of debts, with which the avarice of his predecessors had incumbered it: and by remedying all the other evil consequences of their bad government. The *asiatics*, who had joined with the former governors to oppress and plunder their country, were by *Cicero* obliged to refund whatever they had thus extorted. He protected the province also from all *roman* oppressors; from some, in particular, who were of the highest rank in *Rome*, and otherwise greatly connected with himself. Nor was he less assiduous to avert evils arising from other causes; he alleviated the scarcity of provision, which at that time afflicted *Cilicia* and *Cyprus* like a famine. He prepared with great spirit to defend the frontiers

tiers against the threatened, and *then most formidable* invasion of the *parthians*.

HE permitted the natives of his whole province, to use their own laws. He was kind and affable at all times to all: indeed, the spirit of every part of his government, like that of every part of his life, was most mild and merciful, though at the same time very prudent, and very active. Nor was he less remarkable for his noble disinterestedness. For, as he supported the dignity of his office of proconsul liberally, not sumptuously, he had no temptation to exercise fraud and rapine. He was able to refuse the immense perquisites, presents, contributions, &c., with which his predecessors had disgraced their administration. He accepted only the most just and moderate emoluments of his office; and even from these his lawful appointments, he bestowed several thousand pounds for the relief of distressed individuals or communities in his government. At his departure he declined the acceptance of several of the then customary public honours: he declined also the great free-gift, which was spontaneously offered to him by the province; and which is said, on the whole, to have amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. You seem surprized, dear sir; but the
generosity

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generosity of *Cicero* in his government of *Cilicia* was much greater in other articles,—according to two extracts which I have made from Dr. *Middleton's* narration. The sum mentioned in the second extract is indeed so excessive, that I should apprehend there must be some mistake in the calculation.

ALL the wealthier cities of the province used to pay to their proconsuls large contributions, for being exempt from furnishing winter quarters to the army: *Cyprus* alone paid yearly, on this single account, two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds: But *Cicero* remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue*.

IN his province of *Cilicia*, he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their own private use†.

WHILE *Crito* was reading these noble particulars relative to *Tully's cilician* government, the whole company grew warm in his praise; they totally forgot the blemishes in his character, and were almost as much engaged in his favour as Dr.

* See *Middleton*, vol. ii. p. 53, 4to edit.

† *MIDD.* vol. ii, p. 518.

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Middleton himself. *Crito* also partook of the ardent pleasure expressed by his young friends; and proceeded through the remaining part of his lecture in a much more elevated style.

As to the great offices of state, with which *Cicero* was intrusted *here at Rome*, one instance will be abundantly sufficient, to demonstrate the excellency of his administration; I mean, that ever memorable work of his consulship. Οτι μεγιστον ην των πρωτων νεωτερισμων, οτι ελαχιστοις κακοις ανευ σκισews και ταραχης κατεσβεσε*.

How feel you this noble idea, my valued friends? If we have, really, any sparks of patriotism in our hearts, how ought they now to burn!

DIRECTLY on *this* very angle of the hill, on which we stand, was the house of *Tully*. On the evening of the defeat of the conspiracy, he was most honourably conducted hither from *that Capitoline* hill, across that valley of the *Forum Romanum*, by a general procession of the senate and people of *Rome*: with the acclamation of many thousand voices, proclaiming him the general deliverer.

* *Plutarchus, in vitâ Tullii.*

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O MY dear friends! how often have you, while at *Westminster*, wandered about the great hall of the tribunals of *England*, and about the avenues of both houses of the *british* parliament, thinking on the history of those great men, who in each of those venerable edifices have in several successive ages, by their wisdom and eloquence, by their justice and integrity, done much service and honour to our country?—A scene of the same nature, and of at least equal dignity, is now before your eyes.

LOOK at *those* three lofty columns of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*! It was there, that *Cicero* confounded all the fierceness of the conspirators, by the thunder of his first *Catalinarian* oration. Look, again, on that still remaining portico of the temple of *Concord*! There all the glory of *Tully* was completed and crowned; when, in full senate there assembled, *Catulus* and *Cato* both in so solemn a manner saluted him with the highest style and title of *Father of his country*. *Salve, Cicero; primus omnium Pater patriæ appellatus*!*

* The first *Catalinarian* oration, as it appears from the concluding paragraph, was spoken in the temple of *Jupiter Stator*. The second and third from the *Rostra* in the *Forum*. The fourth probably in the temple of *Concord*; which was the most usual place of assembly for the senate during these *Catalinarian* troubles.

How

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How awful a ceremony was this! How august the spectacle! — How happy, my poetic pupil, might you be, to repose for some hours beneath the shade of these cypresses; would the *genius of the place* but condescend to bless your slumbers with a dream, reviving in your imagination the ancient grandeur of this part of *Rome*, and representing to you in full vision some of these scenes!

BUT let us, continued *Crito*, taking up his paper of notes, proceed to other parts of *Tully's* history.

A.C. 44 SOON after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, *Cicero* vigorously exerted himself in the direction of the affairs of the republic. His conduct at that period is in general thus represented by Dr. *Middleton*.

“ WITH the universal consent and joy of the
“ people, *Cicero* accepted the care of the govern-
“ ment, then in extreme danger. He laboured
“ in forming and executing such a plan of policy,
“ as seemed most likely to save the sinking state.
“ At least, it was to his counsels, and to his
“ authority, that *Rome* owed that last effort
“ which was then made for her liberty. *Cicero*
“ with great resolution resisted *Antony*, a tyrant
“ much

“ much worse than *Julius Cæsar*. (*I could wish*
 “ *however that there was not so much rancour ex-*
 “ *pressed in the Philippics*.) *Cicero* with great
 “ wisdom converted *Hirtius*, *Pansa*, and other
 “ powerful men to the cause of their country,
 “ (he hoped to do the same with *Octavius*) and
 “ directed and united all their power to his de-
 “ signs for the public good. He endeavoured to
 “ restore general concord and quiet among all
 “ parties, by * wisely proposing a general act of
 “ oblivion for what was passed. Far was he
 “ from being discouraged by the great dangers,
 “ which he saw impending over his head; he
 “ knew not now the sense of fear, of which
 “ weakness he was sometimes justly accused; he
 “ despised all perils. The government was in
 “ his hands, and he supported it with the same
 “ wisdom, with the same heroic intrepidity, which
 “ he had shown in the times of *Cataline*. *Nullum*
 “ *locum prætermisit monendi, agendi, providendi;*
 “ *hoc denique animo erat, ut si in hac curâ atque*
 “ *administratione vita illi ponenda esset, præclarè*
 “ *actum secum putaret.*”

SUCH indeed was his fate; and most happy
 and honourable may we justly esteem it. For

* *Illud decreti Atheniensium celeberrimi (relatum a Cicero-
 ne) oblivionis præteritarum rerum decreto patrum compro-
 batum est.*

Vell. Paterculus.

let us look round on the other great men of those turbulent times, who almost all died a violent death, and compare their last hours with that of *Cicero*. *Pompey's* death is surely a striking lesson of the instability of the greatest human grandeur and power: but yet confers no honour on himself; it being uncertain, whether he were brought to that catastrophe by a spirit of love for his country, or by that of mere and mean private ambition. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* died in a bad A.C. cause; *Cato* and *Brutus* in a bad manner. *Cicero*
 43 died undeniably in the cause of his country: He showed however his regard to natural duty, by declining death as far as he might; but, when the last stroke came, he met it with joy and fortitude, equal to any of the above-mentioned, or any other of the most celebrated heroes of *Rome*.

* * *

CRITO now closed his notes. I compiled this very short and imperfect paper, said he, partly at *Modena*, partly at *Bologna*. For while I was at *Modena*, my imagination was strongly affected with the latter part of *Cicero's* history; and in my road from *Modena* to *Bologna*, I saw with horror the infamous spot of the *Isola Trionvirato*.

As

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As soon as *Crito* had folded up his notes, he sat down, and meditated for some moments in silence on the dreadful scenes, which appeared in *this part of Rome* at the time of that bloody proscription, which was the consequence of the negotiation near *Modena*;—a proscription more bloody, if possible, than any of the massacres of *Marius* or *Sylla*.

THE rest of the company, whose youthful imaginations were more lively, thought they saw all the carnage really before them; dogs tearing the carcases, and flocks of vultures screaming from the roofs of the adjoining temples*.

AFTER some time, *Crito* took up the volume of *Tully's* works, which his pupil had been perusing, and turned to the beginning of the third book *de Oratore*. With a melancholy accent he began to read the following lines from section 3.

In his ipsius rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissimè consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, à quo erant multorum civium capita servata.

* Διων. Βιβ. μζ.

Γυπτες επι τε νεω τε γενικις τε δημος, και επι της Ομονοιας παντληθεις ιδρυθησαν. και αυτων ενταυθα ετι, ως ειπειν, οντων, αι τε σφαγαι εμεναι εποικηθεσαν, και η πολς απασα νεκρων επληρωθη.

As soon as *Crito* had read these lines, he stretched out his right hand, pointing to a barn, which stands in the middle of the narrow valley, between the northern point of the *Farnese* gardens, and the *Capitoline* hill*.

O MY dear pupil, cannot you imagine, that you now see, *there*, the pale face and lifeless hands of *Tully*? The head which meditated, the hands which wrote all the noble *philosophic* treatises in this volume!—Of the *Philippics*, let us not think at this trying moment.

SUCH an idea must peculiarly affect *your* good mind. A recollection of the mangled head of *Crassus* or of *Pompey*, lying on the sands of *Parthia* or of *Egypt*, cannot affect you in the like manner. The vanity of the greatest riches and power will give *you* but little concern, in comparison of the thought—that genius and learning perish also. But take comfort: There is one accomplishment of the mind *which will never fail, though tongues may cease, and knowledge vanish away*.

* On this spot stood the ancient *roman* *Rostra*, till the time of *Augustus* *Cæsar*, who removed them about a stone's cast nearer to the *Palatine* hill. Adjoining to the northern point of the *Farnese* gardens are to this day still remaining several high brick walls, said to be the remains of the fabric of the *Rostra* built by *Augustus*.

* * *

ONE of the young nobleman's servants now coming, to acquaint his master, that the coach, according to his order, was waiting in the *Campo Vaccino*, the company concluded their morning study, and set out for *Frescati*. On the road their conversation was frequently diverted to various topics, and as frequently it returned to the *roman* history; the great events in *Tully's* times having deeply engaged their attention.

As they drew near to *Frescati*, the young nobleman looked out of the coach-window on the right, towards *Albano*, and began to talk of the antiquities in *that* neighbourhood.

You remember, said he, the ruined monument, which stands in the middle of the high road near *Albano*; I mean the monument with five small pyramids on it's top, which is commonly called the tomb of the *Horatii* and *Curatii*; but which is supposed by more learned antiquarians to be the sepulchre erected by *Cornelia* to the memory of *Pompey*. I could wish that we were to pass by it to-day. In the present disposition of our minds, the sight of *Pompey's* sepulchre

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chre would be a very pleasing, though melancholy object.

SOME of the admirers of the Night-Thoughts, said *Crito's* pupil, I believe would not have been sorry, if that poem had been written in *Italy*. How would *that* author have moralized, while leaning on the monument, that contained the ashes of *Pompey the Great*!

*Regnatorem Asiæ! jacet ingens littore truncus,
Avulsumque humeris caput, & sine nomine corpus*.*

I KNOW not, replied *Crito*, how to reconcile the different opinions of the ancients, relative to the ashes of *Pompey*. *Plutarch* expressly says, that they were buried by *Cornelia*, at *Alba*. On the other hand, if we strictly follow the opinion of *Martial* and *Lucan*, that sepulchre must be a *cenotaph* only:—for *Pompey's* remains, as *Lucan* very diffusively describes, were in his time still in *Egypt*. *Martial* also says,

———*ipsum*
Terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit.

Perhaps *Pompey's* head, which was presented to *Julius Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, might, agreeably

* VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 557.

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to his usual humanity, be sent by him to *Cornelia*, and by her be interred at *Albano**. The remainder of his dust is probably lost, amidst the common sand and mud of the *egyptian* shore.

THE conversation now again diverted itself to other subjects. About noon the coach arrived at the gates of *Frescati*: the young nobleman sent a servant into the town, to order dinner at the inn to be ready, according to the *italian* custom of dining early, in an hour and a half; and then told his coachman to drive, in the mean time, to the neighbouring monastery of *Grotta Ferrata*.

THE road from *Frescati* to *Grotta Ferrata* is very pleasant: the former part of it is a shady wood; the latter is an open corn field, adorned with several oriental plane trees, which, from their vast size, seem to be some hundreds of years old.

PERHAPS, said *Crito's* pupil, these may be the descendants of that plane tree of *Crassus*, which *Tully* describes with such pleasure; *Ad opacandum hunc locum patulis diffusa ramist*. But let us

* See *Eschinardi's* description of the *Agro Romano*, p. 302.

† See *de Oratore*, lib. i. c. 7.

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not think of *Crassus*: we are now near the country-house of *Tully* himself.

GROTTA Ferrata, said *Crito*, is, you know, commonly supposed to be the place of *Tully's Tusculan villa*. *Addison* and *Middleton* strongly embraced that tradition: but some *italian* antiquarians are of a contrary opinion; and produce several weighty arguments, proving it's situation to have been rather at the *Ruffinella*, which is about two miles nearer *Tusculum**. There are indeed scarce any remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood of *Tusculum*, that are not imagined, either by the vulgar, or by some antiquarians, to have belonged to *Cicero*. Perhaps of all these their different opinions, some one may be true. In the midst of this uncertainty, let us however have the pleasure of walking to the *Ruffinella* in the afternoon; and, at present, of visiting *Grotta Ferrata*.

WITHIN about half an hour the coach arrived at the convent. The monks who inhabit it are of a *greek* order;—the *basilian*. They received our *english* company with great civility; showed them certain ancient marbles in the cloister, as some kind of proof, that *Tully's villa* might have

* See *Eschinardi's Descrittione dell' Agro Romano*, p. 274, 275, 276.

been

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been situate there; and then conducted them to the other curiosities of the place; particularly *Domenichino's* paintings in the chapel. The young nobleman studied these pictures for a considerable time, not without expressing the greatest admiration.

HE afterwards got into his coach, thanked the monks for their civility, and returned with his *english* friends to *Frescati* to dinner.

* * *

AFTER dinner the eldest of the young gentlemen, who had sat up most part of the night to read *Plutarch's* life of *Cato*, laid himself down on the couch to sleep. The young nobleman diverted himself with finishing the drawing, which he had begun this morning; and *Crito* retired with his pupil into the next room, to their *ciceronian* studies.

ABOUT two and twenty o'clock the company walked out. Just at the edge of the town their *roman* servant showed them a rough mass of stone, said to be the remains of *Lucullus's* mausoleum. Thence they walked up to the *Ruffinella*.

THE *Ruffinella* is situate half-way between the pleasant town of *Frescati*, and the rocks and ruins
of

of the ancient and lofty city of *Tusculum*. No walk can be more agreeable than the ascent from *Frescati* thither, through the groves, and by the numerous cascades of *Villa Pamphili*. On one side of it, towards the plain, appear the beautiful shades and streams of *Villa Conti*, formerly the habitation of *Lucullus*; and on the other side, the road planted with laurel, which leads towards the steep hill of *Monte Portio*, the family seat of *Cato* *.

BUT far elevated above all is that venerable open grove of lofty pines near the *Ruffinella*, which crowns the ridge of the *Tusculan* mountains, and shades the spot where *Cicero's* villa and rural *Lycæum* once perhaps stood.

IN the field on the side of this grove, are yet to be seen many marks of terrasses, and a large and broad mosaic pavement, still entire. This pavement perhaps, as the young nobleman pleased himself with imagining, might belong to *Cicero's library*; the centre of it being ornamented with a large design of the head of *Minerva* †.

* *Anni sono, della parte di Frescati che riguarda Monte Porzio fu trovato il sepolchro antiquissimo della famiglia Porzia reportata del Bellori & dal Volpi. Abbate Venuti.*

† *Condamine*, in his tour to *Italy*, p. 42, speaks of this pavement, as the most beautiful work of the kind remaining; and of this head of *Minerva*, as executed in the noblest manner.

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How grand and how delightful is the situation of this apartment, said the young nobleman; and how properly adapted to the character of it's great inhabitant! Cicero, though the most studious and most learned man of his times, yet perhaps never, amidst all his pleasures and labours, forgot his favourite object in them all;—beneficence to Rome*.

LET me continue to indulge myself for some moments, in supposing this apartment to have been his library. To the south, how solemn a prospect opens itself, over the forests of *Algidum*, the mountains and lakes of *Alba*, and the sea-coast; quite to the woody island of *Astura*, where Cicero had another residence, designed for still more retired study! To the north, he might here have always before his view the magnificence and splendour of *Rome*, which is even now widely spread over the *Campania* before us; together with all those great works of public utility, those many grand and everlasting paved roads, and those many long and lofty aqueducts, which—like his own designs—stretch from all sides across this vast plain, to their great and common centre.

* Λογιστὴ ἀνὴρ, ὡ παῖ, λογιστὴ καὶ φιλοπατὴρ.

See the conclusion of Cicero's life by Plutarch.

WHILE the young nobleman was thus speaking, *Crito* turned to him with a look of respect and love; and—How happy should we have been, said he, if, so soon as you had finished this afternoon your drawing of the temple of *Concord*, you had favoured us with your company in the next room. Your loving and worthy friend, whom I know not whether I ought to call my pupil, or my tutor, was then assisting me to prepare and finish this second short paper on *Cicero's* character. He reminded me of several passages, tending to show, that *Tusculum* was always *Cicero's* favourite country-seat; from which he wrote with the greatest pleasure several of his epistles; in which he composed with the greatest spirit several of his orations; and which he made the scene of several of his rhetorical and philosophic dialogues: particularly of those two, the principal perhaps of each kind; the books *de Oratore*, and the *Tusculan* questions.

So fond indeed was *Tully* of this his rural retirement, as frequently to expatiate with pleasure on the description of persons and places in the neighbourhood. *Monte Portio* was the farm of *Cato* the elder, the principal speaker in the dialogue *de Senectute*. At *Villa Conti* was the famous library of *Lucullus*, which is the scene of the dialogues in the third and fourth book *de Finibus*; and

and in which these two illustrious country neighbours, *Cicero* and *Cato* the younger, both then, and probably often, really met. *Ibi Catonem sedentem inveni, multis circumfufum libris: erat enim in illo inexhausta aviditas legendi, neque fatiari poterat: Et malo, mihi dixit, hunc puerum Luculli [the pupil of Cato and Cicero], his libris, potius quàm omni reliquo villæ ornatu delectari*.*

MODERN *Frescati*, replied the young nobleman, notwithstanding all it's beauty and splendour, is I apprehend much inferiour to *Tusculum*, as it appeared in the times of *Tully*; when the sides of these hills, and all the environs, were covered with the country palaces of the roman senators. At *Casal Morena*, was, I have heard, *Muræna's* villa: at *Villa Magna*, one of *Pompey's* houses. But the seats of *Cicero* and *Lucullus* seem to have been the principal buildings of this place: they were far superiour, I suppose, to *Villa Conti*, *Villa Pamphili*, or *Monte Dragone* itself.

SCARCE ever was any country place, said *Crito's* pupil, adorned with two such famous libraries. That of *Lucullus* was, I should imagine, the most expensive; that of *Tully*, the best-chosen collection.

* DE FINIB. l. iii. c. 2.

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THE young nobleman now began to speak of the ornaments of Tully's library, particularly the *Hermathenæ**; when, observing a paper in Crito's hand, he sat down, and desired him to favour the company with it's contents.

C I C E R O.

P A R T II.

*Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? Quid orat de paterâ novum
Fundens liquorem?*

HOR. *carm. lib. i. od. 31.*

WHAT ought to be the *principal* wish of a young man, who has already had the happiness to be entered on a course of good education?—For what blessing may we suppose Tully to have principally petitioned in his youth, at the shrine of Apollo; of this, his favourite patroness Minerva; or of any other of those deities, who were imagined to preside over the improvement of the human mind?

* *Quod ad me de Hermathenâ scribis, per mihi gratum est; & ornamentum academici proprium meæ; quod & Hermes commune omnium; & Minerva singulare est insignis ejus gymnasii. Quare velim, ut scribis, cæteris quoque rebus quàm plurimis eum locum ornes. Signa illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.*

Ep. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 4.

FOR

For the spirit of perpetual industry.

STUDIOUS diligence, by which I must be understood to mean that of the best kind, is one of the great principles of growth to the human understanding, which thus it continually forms, replenishes, and extends; correcting and healing whatever in it is amiss; guarding it from many unnecessary worldly cares; supplying it's defects; and improving it's excellencies.

SUCH is it to the mind. Nor is it, really, any way hostile to the health of the body; especially when attended by temperance, and moderate exercise; each of which greatly strengthens the mental, as well as the corporeal frame.

IF we look into the life of *Cicero*, we shall find it *filled* with labour and industry. His indefatigable application far surpasses what we generally conceive of study,—and seems almost incredible. It is said, that the time, which other young men of his age gave up to pleasure and diversion, was by him regularly added to his studious hours; that he never devoted one leisure hour to absolute idleness; and that all the intervals of his great labours were generally applied to some good purpose.

THIS

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THIS *studious diligence* was the means indispensably necessary to qualify, even such a genius as *Tully*, for his great literary attainments. Let us not be disheartened by this consideration; but rather with pleasure reflect that *Cicero*, by this most careful management of his time, made every day produce some valuable addition to the vast fund of his knowledge.

IN relation to the *fruits* of these his learned labours, I am by no means able to say any thing worthy your attention. Permit me to read to you some short extracts from *Dr. Middleton*, relative to this subject.

“No man,” says he, “whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science and the politer arts.”

BUT let us confine our thoughts at present to his *philosophic* works.

ROME, though in the time of *Cicero* superiour to all the nations of the earth in power and dominion, yet was comparatively very deficient in knowledge; particularly in the knowledge of that which is the summit of all literary glory,—moral philosophy. *Cicero's* great design was, to supply

ply this most important *desideratum*. He laboured to increase the knowledge of his countrymen, by adding to it whatever was wise or noble, in the several *grecian* philosophies. He laboured, above all, to place before their eyes, in the strongest light, those five great principles of natural religion and morality, on which the happiness of mankind so much depends:—The existence of GOD; the reality of a Providence; the immortality of the soul; the future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and evil. *Reipublicæ causâ, philosophiam hanc romanis hominibus explicandam putavit; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res, tam graves, tamque præclaras, latinis etiam literis contineri.* It is needless to observe, how nobly he executed this great design. Happy is it, that the compositions, which he originally thus designed for the benefit of his country, have extended their good effects much farther, to many other ages and nations.

BUT, it may be peculiarly useful for us to observe, that *Cicero himself* seems to have received great benefit from these his studies, at several different periods of his life.

FROM his early youth he had applied himself diligently to the study of moral philosophy. Soon

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indeed did he disdain, and with indignation reject, the mean doctrines of the *epicurean* sect; but he industriously took all opportunities, both at home and on his travels, to imbibe the principles of some other much more exalted systems. At *Rome*,—let me repeat his own words—*totum se Philoni tradidit, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus*. During his travels, which on the whole took up about *two years*, he resided no less than *six months* in *Athens*, at the house of *Antiochus*, the principal philosopher of the old academy*: at *Rhodes* also he studied philosophy with *Posidonius*, the most esteemed and learned stoic of that age.

It is a pleasing reflection, my dear fellow-travellers, and may it prove also a good omen to some of this company, to recollect, that *Cicero*, in the year following his return from these his travels, acted very nobly in his first public office,—the *sicilian* quæstorship.

LET us consider his life at another period. About his forty-second or forty-third year, we find him passing great part of his time with much

* Cum venissem Athenas, sex menses cum Antiocho, veteris academie nobilissimo ac prudentissimo philosopho, fui; studiumque philosophiæ nunquam intermissum, à primâque adolescentiâ cultum, & semper auctum, hoc rursus summo auctore & doctore re-
novavi,
De Claris Oratoribus, c. 91.

satisfac-

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satisfaction here at *Tusculum*. *Ex omnibus molestiis & laboribus hoc uno in loco conquiescimus. Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum huc venimus, placeamus**. Cicero was at that time very eager in making a collection of greek books, and forming a library. Such an employment is sometimes the work of mere ignorant vanity; but with a *Tully* it must have been far otherwise. He was fully sensible, that on the learned furniture of *this* room, properly arranged and digested, would depend, in a great measure, the usefulness of his present time of life, as well as the comfort of his old age. It seems highly probable, that *Tully* took *this opportunity* to refresh his memory in relation to some of his former studies; and that by this refreshment he was enabled to achieve the patriotic actions of his famous consulship, in the next year, which was the forty-fourth of his life.

About ten years afterwards we find *Cicero* resuming his studies with particular application. In his fifty-third year he frequently retired from the tumults of *Rome* to his country villas; passing his time partly at *Cumæ*, partly at *Tusculum*. He was then employed in his great work, *de Republicâ*, of which the *Somnium Scipionis* is the conclusion. When he had finished the first two

* *Ep. ad Attic. lib. i. ep. 4, 5.*

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books of that work, he read them to some of his friends here in his *Tusculan villa*. *Sallust* was one of the company*.

PARDON, dear sir, this interruption, said the eldest of the young gentlemen: but how fortunate would it be, if ever in ploughing up these fields a chest should be discovered, containing the manuscript of those books *de Republicâ*. A chest of *Numa's* manuscripts, I think, was discovered on the *Janiculan* hill in the same manner. But pray proceed.

IN his fifty-fourth or fifty-fifth year, continued *Crito*, *Tully* wrote his treatise *de Legibus*, after the example of *Plato*, whom, of all writers, he most loved to imitate. This work was designed as a supplement, or second volume, to his other, *de Republicâ*.

IN his fifty-sixth year he was governor of *Cilicia*, the beneficent protector of a happy people committed to his care. O my dear friends, does it not seem highly probable, that *Cicero's* studies, during the three preceding years, had excited in his mind many noble sentiments, which he put in practice during that glorious government?

* *Ep. ad Q. Fratrem*, lib. iii. 5.

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LET us consider him again at a *fourth* period. *Cicero* in his sixty-first, sixty-second, and sixty-third years, was, more deeply perhaps than ever, engaged in literary labours. He was then busy in works of greater dignity in themselves, and of greater utility to the world, than those which in modern times have been the happy fruits of the retirements of a *Clarendon*, or—I had almost said, a *Bacon*. During these three years *Cicero* was employed in writing his history of the life of *Cato*; his treatises *de Consolatione*, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, *de Gloria*; his *Hortensius*, *vel Cohortationes ad Philosophiam*; his books *de Academicis*, *de Finibus*, *de Naturâ Deorum*, *de Fato*; his translation of *Plato's Timæus*, on the nature and origin of the universe;—and, to crown all, his *Tusculans* and his *Offices*.

WHAT a long and splendid catalogue of literary labours! But what must have been *the spirit of that industry*, by which such numerous and excellent works were planned and perfected? *Credibile non est quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus*, says *Tully*, in one of his letters at that time.

IT also most highly deserves our notice and admiration, that at the same time, and in these retirements, *Tully* strongly and intimately con-

ned himself with the learned *Varro*. The design, with which these two great men joined and united their literary labours, was the support of the cause of virtue.

YOUR minds, I know, my dear friends, are filled with the two ruling principles of love of study, and love of doing good. Let us then here pause a little; and, seated as we now are, perhaps in the very library of *Cicero*, let us endeavour to excite in ourselves some meditations worthy of the place and subject.

VENERABLE as is the memory of *Cato*, yet how much more wise, noble, and good,—at least in one respect—was the conduct of *that* great mind, *quæ hîc cogitabat*? Amidst the most heavy public calamities, *Cicero* did not despair, or abandon that existence, in which providence had stationed him. Driven from the tribunals and the senate, yet he ceased not his labour of doing good to the utmost, by those other means which still remained in his power:—I mean his *philosophical* studies. For the cultivation of these he most indefatigably exerted himself in *this* retirement: and their growth so prospered, as to produce to the world infinitely more benefit, than whatever had arisen from his former *oratorical* and *political* abilities.—Such are the fruits of *re-*
signation,

signation, and of perseverance in doing good!— Such, as a young poet might say, in these poetic regions, was the reward of the pious *Æneas* himself; who, upon the fall of the kingdom of *Troy*, did not give himself up to despair, or slay himself on the ruins of *Priam's* palace; but, after having bravely done his duty to his country, patiently resigned himself to the will of providence*. He retired, with some few companions, to these very plains; and here became the founder of all the grandeur and glory of the immense empire of *Rome*.

BUT not only to the public was *Cicero* so happy as to be thus useful. By these, the last and most noble of his studious labours, he must have greatly comforted, ennobled, and exalted his own mind.

SUCH studies must have been, from their general tendency, very serviceable in correcting those defects of character, by which, it must be owned, *Tully* sometimes sunk much lower than could be well imagined of so great a man. I mean, his propensity on the one hand to pride, on the other

* *Tector, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
Vitavisse vices:—*

— *Nec spes opis ulla dabatur:*

Cessi. —

ÆNEID. ii. 432, 803,

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to timidity: and, consequently, his too great dejection in adversity; and too much confidence when in a prosperous state.

THESE defects seem to have grown upon *Tully*, while he continued deeply engaged in public and private business. Much converse with the world is indeed generally found to be very prejudicial to the heart, by weakening it's virtues, and inflaming it's bad passions. The world is full of contagion, and *aria cattiva*.

ON the contrary, *Tully's* moral studies in retirement seem to have been the constant medicine of his soul. This grove seems to have been, at least in some degree, his *Ψυχῆς Γάργεον*.

HAPPY would it have been, if the moral studies of this great man had been ennobled with a proper spirit of *piety* and *humility*.

IN relation to *piety*, it is difficult to conceive the infinite improvement, which that heavenly grace might have produced in such a character as that of *Tully*. Let me remind you only of two expressions, which were read to you about this time yesterday evening:—*Fugatrix tristitiæ; ablatrix timoris*,

IN

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IN relation to *humility*, let me read to you half a dozen lines, which I find written in my memorandum-book, and dated at *Venice* in the beginning of last *September*. During our stay there, by accident I went one day into the church of *St. George in Algâ*, and heard part of a sermon. The preacher was speaking of *Laurence Justinian*, the famous patriarch of *Venice**; and observed, that the most sincere and profound humility was the first thing, in which that prelate laboured to ground his religious disciples.

LAURENCE JUSTINIAN taught his scholars, that *humility* inspires the soul with true courage and resolution, by directing her to place her intire confidence in God alone, the only foundation of her strength. He compared humility to a river; which is low and still in summer, but loud and high in winter. So, said this pious prelate, humility is silent in prosperity, never elated or swelled by it; but it is high, magnanimous, and full of joy and invincible courage under adversity.

* *Laurentius Justinianus, patriâ venetus, dignitate patricius, canonicus regularis S. Georgii in Algâ. Triginta annis in regulari vitâ exactis, venetiarum episcopus constitutus est; postquam nullas non artes, ut onus impositum excuteret, adhibuisset. Vir infucatâ ergâ Deum pietate, prodigâ in pauperes charitate, & ingenti religionis zelo meritò celebrandus.*

Cave's Historia Literaria, Sæculum xv. p. 133.

THERE

THERE seems, indeed, something of false taste in the simile; but the doctrine itself is of high importance: it affected me peculiarly at that time, as in our late journey from *Bologna* to *Venice*, I had been often thinking on *Tully's* character.

HAD *Tully* directed his moral studies to the acquisition of such a virtue, his life, no doubt, would have been far more laudable and exemplary.

BUT, however imperfect his moral studies might be, they certainly were of *great* service to him. Though not *αριστοι*, they were *καλοι προς ἀρετην, και σωφροσυνην συμμαχοι*.

BY their assistance he repaired *in some measure* the breaches in his mind, and fortified himself with new and noble resolutions. Thus animated, he resumed in old age his political labours, for the service and assistance of the republic, then in her desperate and last agonies. In *that* dismal service *Cicero* showed no marks of timid dejection:—you will please to remember that I am speaking from *Dr. Middleton*:—and he concluded all his labours, by death in the cause of his country; a death full of resignation, and unobscured by symptoms either of ostentation or of fear.

APPIAN

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APPIAN visited that spot: χωριον καθ' ἱστοριαν τῷδε τῷ πατρὶς εἶδεν. In our journey next month to *Naples*, we shall necessarily pass near it. *Cicero's* sepulchre is, as I have been informed, in the vineyard or olive-garden, on the right-hand of the entrance of *Mola*,—the ancient *Formiæ*.

BUT to conclude. The moral studies of *Cicero*, imperfect as they were, seem ever to have amended and exalted his character, in proportion to the diligence with which he applied to them. They were to him, in some degree, like a frequent renewal of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, which to the initiated are said to have been * *reverà initia vitæ*. From them—to use his own words—he was instructed, not only how to live with more real happiness, but also how to die with a better hope:—*Sed etiam, cum meliore spe, moriendi*.

* * *

CRITO now rose from the bench, and proposed to his young friends to return to *Frescati*, before the evening dews came on; but in walking down the hill, he could not refrain from expressing the following sentiments.

* See *de Legibus*, lib. 2.

IN concluding our reflections on *Cicero's* moral studies, and consequent actions, we must with sorrow repeatedly own, that they were both very imperfect. His conduct, *even at it's best periods*, I am afraid, was not free from faults: his opinions, relative to some very important points of moral and natural philosophy, were often wavering.

THESE considerations have very greatly abated the veneration, which I should otherwise have felt, in treading on that pavement, which, as our noble young friend with probability imagines, was often traversed by *Tully* in his studious meditations.

I MUST acknowledge, that I have been much more affected, in several parts of our travels through *France* and *Italy*, on entering the libraries of some persons famous in modern history; who, though they were of abilities far inferiour to those of *Tully*, yet infinitely exceeded him in the general uprightness of their conduct, as well as in the happiness of their christian faith. Never indeed do I enter the library of a wise and good man, without feeling some kind of secret awe. Wise and good study is justly esteemed, next after prayer, the highest exaltation of the human mind: and consequently, the library of the virtuous

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tuous man is, next after the church in which he prays, the most venerable and sacred place.

NOR is it only by wise study, that it is thus, as it were, consecrated. In it are all his works of public and private beneficence generally planned: in it the virtues, which he owes to himself, are continually examined and enlarged; and from it, his most private, and perhaps most fervent devotions are daily ascending to heaven. I remember part of a copy of verses, translated from the *italian* by my dear pupil, on a similar subject.

*Balm of the mind! hail studious solitude!
O bring with thee calm peace, wise piety!
Bring self-correcting, still improving virtue!
Bring charity, for ever meditating
To all, in just degrees, the highest good.*

*Hail! solitude! that from eternity
Wast present at the glorious throne of God;
And, in his bounteous mind revolv'd, could'st trace
Creation's plan: how vast! how wise! how good!
Inhabitant of heaven, and friend of man,
With all thy kindred virtues, hither come!
And, if aught human may become thy train,
Let fairest science on thy footsteps wait.*

I FORGET the words of the next stanza; but they were expressive of the poet's wish, that science might come accompanied always by humility. Humility is indeed the beginning, the middle, and the end of all true knowledge, both in this world and in the next.

* * *

SCARCE had *Crito* pronounced the last words, when making a swift transition to other subjects, he began to talk of the pleasantness of the weather, and the beauty of the country. The young nobleman admired with him the various tints of the trees, and the picturesque effect of several objects in the prospect. The eldest of the young gentlemen surveyed with pleasure the beautiful and pure azure of the *italian* sky over their heads. *Crito's* pupil wished for some *english* clouds, to variegate it; and for an *english* twilight, to lengthen out the evening.

DISCOURSING on these, and other similar topics, they arrived at *Frescati* about dusk, and finding their coach, with the horses ready harnessed, standing before the inn door, got into it as soon as they had paid the dinner bill, and drove to *Rome*.

THIS

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THIS short night-journey was very pleasant. There was indeed no moon, but the whole sky was filled with stars; multitudes of lights also were scattered over many parts of the *roman Campania*, the fields being at that hour full of countrymen, getting in their harvest as usual, during the coolness of the night. These lights on the ground seemed to be, as it were, the reflection of those bright luminaries in the heavens.

ABOUT an hour before midnight the company arrived safe at their lodgings on *Monte di Trinita*.

C H A P. VII.

SEVENTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ENCHANTED, as this company was, in daily treading the *circle of the antiquities of Rome*, yet they forgot not, to pay a due attention to other great and worthy objects.

FROM the first outset on their travels, *Crito* had been constantly industrious in examining the *real* religion, the natural history, and state of literature in every country ; but he was peculiarly attentive to these three subjects, during his residence in the *roman* territories.

THE young nobleman, as has been frequently observed, had been busy in the contemplation of the fine arts, especially painting: he had studied it with continually-increasing ardour in the *flemish, lombard, venetian, and roman* schools.

HIS elder companion, with excessive diligence, had laboured in the political mine ; searching deeply into the laws, police, manufactures, commerce,

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merce, funds, and forces of every state, in which he for any considerable time had resided. Nor was he blind to the great "*capabilities*" of the ecclesiastical state in these several particulars*.

CRITO'S pupil had proposed to himself another field of inquiry; viz. the various kinds and degrees of public beneficence, and the different workings of humanity and christian charity in different parts of *Europe*. Scarce a day passed, in which he had not made some progress in this work; either by digesting into proper order his former observations, or by acquiring fresh materials. He was indefatigably active in making due inquiries after every wise law of mercy; after every judiciously-charitable institution: esteeming all these labours as superabundantly repaid, if by these means he could, at a future time, be able to introduce in his own country any one new method of doing good.

* The ecclesiastic state, as all travellers observe, is in a very poor condition. Its governors, *even when well intentioned*, seem ignorant, or inattentive to the various means of improvement. Indeed, as *Addison* remarked in his travels, "to speak truly, they are here so taken up with the care of men's souls, that they neglect the care of their bodies:" and it has often happened, that the sovereign of this country has past most of his days in a convent,—or in some other religious or studious retirement from the world.

SUCH had been his darling object throughout the whole course of his travels,—and especially during his residence at *Milan*, and at *Rome*.

AMONG other articles of public beneficence, he was particularly desirous to acquire some sensible and true memoirs, relative to the management of the best-regulated *hospitals*. He even disdained not to make some inquiries as to the care of the *prisons*.

THIS morning, while he was happily employed in transcribing and abridging some papers, *on the last subject*, he was visited by his tutor, and his two young friends. They surveyed the bundles of papers, with which his table was covered: and then fixed their eyes on him, with the complacency, with which angels look on one of their celestial brethren, while ardently engaged in some eminent work of benevolence.

THEY were beginning to express their sentiments on the occasion, but were prevented by him. Turning to the elder of the young gentlemen, After all, said he, the greatest *temporal* charity, is the charity of a wise government;—which, by a judicious encouragement of industry, in agriculture, in manufactures, and in commerce,

both

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both by sea and land, is able to clothe comfortably and feed *millions* of it's subjects. In this great charity there is not perhaps a country on the face of the universe superiour, or even equal to *Great Britain*. But in the secondary, though very important and laudable charities, such as *hospitals for the sick and aged*, and other institutions of a similar nature; although our country is richly adorned with many noble foundations of this kind, yet I know not whether other nations of *Christendom* may not justly claim an equal share of honour.

I HAVE often, both at home and abroad, heard our countrymen observe, perhaps with a patriotic partiality, That no country was equal to *England* in such works of charity: But let us see what *Keyser*, though a *german*, says of the *italians*.

CRITO'S pupil now took up a volume of *Keyser's* travels, which lay on the table open, at the article "*Milan*," and read several passages in it, to the point in question.

HOWEVER this may be, continued he, yet certainly all travellers, notwithstanding their several political and religious differences, must acknowledge both the magnitude and variety of

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charitable institutions, which are to be seen in all parts of *Italy*, especially at *Milan*, and here at *Rome*.

I COULD wish, said *Crito*, that there was a good account published of all the *italian*, and indeed of all the *europaean public charities*. A faithful and judicious description of the various institutions of mercy throughout *Christendom* would undoubtedly be a very pleasing book, as well as a very strong testimony to the excellence of the christian religion, by displaying thus it's beneficent genius, and happy operation in the world *. For it seems well worthy of observation, that all these noble institutions of mercy were utterly unknown in *Europe*, during the times of the ancient *grecian* or *roman* dominion: and have all risen on *christianity*, as their true foundation. Even *mohammedanism* has copied it's spirit in this particular.

SUCH a book, said *Crito's* pupil, might perhaps be serviceable to another good purpose.

Is it not ardently to be wished, that the different nations of *Europe* would mutually study

* The last sixteen verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of *St. Matthew* might perhaps be not improperly placed as a frontispiece to such a book.

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and imitate each other's moral excellencies? It was a wise principle of heathen *Rome*, never to think herself perfect in the military art; but constantly to observe, and to adopt, whatever was truly laudable and useful in the neighbouring states. By this principle, and by this practice, she attained all her grandeur. And by the same means *England*, no doubt, might very considerably improve herself in the highest kind of true glory,—christian beneficence. Her public charities might thus be rendered the most abundant and complete, the most beautifully variegated, and the most wisely selected of any in the universe.

IF I be not mistaken, said the young nobleman, some great new charities,—the *Foundling*, *Lying-in*, and *Magdalen* hospitals,—were in this manner lately imported into *England*.

THERE is another charitable institution, said *Crito*, which, if properly regulated, might justly be esteemed far more honourable and useful than any of these three. I mean that charity, which you know flourishes so much in *Italy*, particularly here at *Rome*, the charity of giving portions to poor young maidens in marriage*. It has at
different

* The legacies to this charity have been at *Rome* so very ample, that there is scarce a poor young woman in the whole

different times made several attempts to establish itself in *England*. Archbishop *Laud* set an example of it in his native town of *Reading*: where, according to his small fortune, he bequeathed a legacy, out of which young women who have served a certain time in the same family, with a good character, are now apportioned.

AMONG all the *roman* charities, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, there is one, which I have often thought might be as deserving of imitation as any. I mean the *Convalescent* hospital; which receives poor patients, cured in other hospitals, and supports them for some weeks with comfortable provision, till they have recovered their strength, and are able to return to their work. If I mistake not, you have an account of that hospital among your papers.

IN turning over the papers of *Crito's* pupil, to find that account, the young gentleman fixed his eyes by accident on a memoir relative to the mo-

whole city, of a creditable character, but what may be a partaker of them. The portioning of maidens makes indeed a part of many ecclesiastical functions there. Once in the year no less than three hundred maidens appear in procession at the church of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. They come there to receive their marriage portions; all dressed in long and flowing white robes, such as are seen on several antique statues of *roman* matrons; and their faces in particular are covered exactly in the same manner as some of the most famous busts.

dern

dern *roman prisons*. I could heartily wish you, said he, to extract from this memoir some hints that may be useful at home. There is perhaps no part of the *british* police, in which there are more *desiderata*. I heard lately from *London*, that a proposal for rebuilding *Newgate* is soon to be laid before the house of commons.

THE conversation now dwelt for some time on this topic, when *Crito's* pupil requested the company to take an hour's walk with him. He wished they would permit him to be their conductor this morning; as he had a great desire to visit the remains of the two most noted prisons of *ancient Rome*. The company readily consented to his proposal.

* * *

SOME small remains of the ancient *Carcere Tulliano* are still to be seen, at the foot of the south-east side of the *Capitoline* hill. Going down a flight of steps under the church of *S. Giuseppe Falegnami*, the company entered into the dark subterranean apartments of that fearful scene, and descended from dungeon to dungeon*.

* See Abbate *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 58.

THE lowest of these is a round, low, small vault*. In this dismal place it is said *Plemminius* died†; *Jugurtha* was starved to death‡; and *Cethegus* and the other murderers and incendiaries of *Cataline's* band were all strangled§. This vault seems indeed, from it's situation, shape, and dimensions, to answer *Sallust's* description of the *Tullianum*; and the floor, walls, and roof being all composed of very large stones, it is at present, perhaps, exactly in the same state, as formerly.

WRETCHED as that set of villains were, and most deserving of their fate, yet how often, said *Crito's* pupil, has this gloomy cavern confined persons of a quite contrary character! In the republican times, how many foreign generals and patriots, the brave defenders of their country against the *roman* invasions, have, after undergoing all the bitterness of the triumph, taken their seats on this stone bench, in expectation and de-

* It nearly resembles the description, given by *Diodorus Siculus*, of the dungeon at *Alba Marforum*, in which *Perfes* was imprisoned. Vid. *Photii Bibliothec.* edit. *Rotomag.* p. 1156.

† See *Livy*, book 34, c. 44. *In inferiorem demissus est carcerem, necatusque.*

‡ See *Freinshemius*, book lxvii. c. 19. *Ibi demum loci, sextum in diem, cum fame & vitâ lucians, spiritus expulsus est.*

§ In this same prison *Sejanus* died; the senate being assembled for his condemnation in the adjoining temple of *Concord*. *Simon Gioras* also, See *Josephus*, b. vii. c. 5.

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fire of speedy death! In the lower ages, under *imperial* tyranny, how many virtuous romans have fighed against the walls of this vault; and mixed their tears with that cup of their affliction,—the spring which rises in the middle of this floor!

*O mon fils, mes amis, qui l'eut pensè jamais
Que nous habiterions ce sejour des forfaits ?
Ah! sans doute, avant nous, ces chaines fletrissantes
Ont courbé sous leur poids les Vertus gemissantes*.*

PLACES and conditions, at which human weakness would most tremble, and human pride would most disdain, have often been the scenes of the most amiable and exalted virtues. Not to specify other countries, the two most venerable characters in the *athenian* history, *Socrates* and *Phocion*, lived in poverty, and died as malefactors in prison. *Carcer illorum*,—a *Seneca* might say,—*omni curiâ sanctior*.

Look at the inscription on that wall: It says, that this vault was the dungeon even of the *apostle of the gentiles*,—and that to this very pillar were fixed his chains.

* *Siege de Calais*, act 4.

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THE inscription adds, that *St. Peter* also was confined here. I know not what degree of credit should be given to this tradition: however, we are certain, that those holy apostles did, in some place or other, *really* undergo such treatment*.

BUT let me not trespass on my tutor's province, who can speak on this subject so much better. Perhaps under his guidance we may make a second visit to this place, when advanced in his course of lectures to the time of *Nero's* reign.

LET me add this reflection, my dear friends: Surely, we should never disdain to consider, and to commiserate the sufferings, *even of malefactors in prison*; since both by sacred and profane history we are assured, that persons of the HOLIEST CHARACTER have been contented even to live and die with them theret†.

* * *

THESE sentiments of charity, expressed by *Crito's* pupil, rose sincerely from his heart.

* See, in particular, the twelfth and sixteenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

† Our Saviour himself died among malefactors; one of whom reviled him in his last moments. The other, by penitence, obtained a blessing, far superiour to all the riches and honours of this world.

Often

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Often while in *London* had he, unknown to any person, visited *Newgate*; alleviating the miseries of some of the felons, and releasing some of the debtors confined there*.

THIS sincerity of heart added such powerful energy to his expressions, as affected all his audience with a heavenly sympathy. Every heart was melted: every eye swelled with a tear.

FULL of these sentiments, they re-ascended the dark and narrow stair-case, and came soon within hearing of the organ in the church, which is built over these dungeons. The young nobleman turned round to *Crito*, and asked him if he knew what festival it was to-day? It is, I believe, replied he, the eleventh of *june*;—the festival of the charitable *St. Barnabas*†.

* The persons whom he released were chiefly those, who were committed thither for small debts, by the Court of Conscience. He had often been happy in discharging several of these, who were parents of large families; and who, for debts of *some few shillings only*, were committed prisoners to that dismal place for three long months!

As the Court of Conscience is a *new institution*, perhaps it may not be improper to suggest to well-disposed persons, that here is a *new method of doing good*. Very small sums thus disposed may sometimes save whole families from destruction.

† Many have been the happy persons who have literally obeyed our Saviour's words; "Sell whatever thou hast, and give to the poor." *St. Barnabas* is the first recorded by name, who for this purpose sold his landed property. See *Acts* iv, from ver. 32, to the end.

DAY.

DAYLIGHT now broke in full upon them. How glorious a spectacle, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, must *that* sun be, to persons long confined in the gloom of such dismal dungeons! What occasion is there ever to deprive prisoners of the benefit of light and air? How inhuman must that government be, which would grudge some little expence in affording them this consolation!

CRITO'S pupil now repeated some lines in the beginning of *Samson Agonistes*; and then proposed to his friends to continue their morning walk; if not too fatiguing, as far as to the other noted prison of ancient *Rome*,—the gaol of the *Decemvirs*.

* * *

THE gaol of the *Decemvirs* stood near the *Forum Olitorium**. In that prison was performed the famous action, known by the name of the *roman* charity. In memory of such an instance of filial piety, the senate ordered *that* part of the prison, which was thus distinguished, to be pulled down, and a temple to be erected on it, named on this account *Templum Pietatis*. The church

* See Abbate *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 33. See also *Pliny's history*, book vii. c. 36.

of *St. Nicolo in Carcere* now stands on the same spot.

THE company arrived there about noon, and finding the church at that hour quite solitary, walked about it at their leisure.

Is it not probable, said the young nobleman, that some of these marble pillars once adorned the temple of *Filial Piety*? I could wish that a plan of that temple were now extant. But give me leave to express another, more rational wish; I mean that our tutor, I hope he will permit me to use that name, would favour us with some of his sentiments on the excellent action here performed.

I AM much obliged to you for your politeness, replied *Crito*; but I am not worthy of that title.

I HAVE attended you to this place with very great pleasure; but am certain, that there is no occasion to trouble you with any of my reflections on the subject of the *roman* charity; the history of that action being so well known, and it's excellence so happily displayed by every one of this company.

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GIVE me leave, however, in this place, to congratulate my pupil on the purchase, which, by your kind assistance, he has lately made:—I mean, the fine picture of *Guido* on that subject. He purposes to send it soon to *England*. With the greatest pleasure will his father certainly receive it, and place it at the head of his gallery of family pictures; as a most pleasing mark of his son's goodness, and as a standing lesson and emblem of that filial love, which ought to subsist in all families from generation to generation.

* * *

IN this manner ended the morning's conversation; and they parted for the remainder of the day. At night the company, meeting at supper at the young nobleman's lodgings, were informed by *Crito's* pupil, in what manner he had passed the afternoon and first part of the evening.

IT is needless to add, that *Crito* gave his attention with the greatest pleasure to the following account; and, by the first post to *England*, made the parents of his pupil happy, by a full relation of it.

I CAME

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I CAME home, said the young gentleman, this morning, from the place of the ancient temple of *Filial Piety*, full of the idea of the work of charity there performed. I sat down in my room, opposite the picture of *Guido*.—Would to GOD, that the thoughts, which then arose in my mind, may always be kept alive there, and continually increase in ardour! In the afternoon I again sat down before the same picture; and in that situation, often casting my eye on a spectacle so pathetic, I made the following extracts; partly from the epistles of *Seneca*, and his book *de Beneficiis*; partly from a volume of the discourses of *Socrates*.

“ IT is not easy to conceive how any man can
“ receive from any of his fellow-creatures greater
“ benefits, than those which all children derive
“ from their parents; by whose means they begin
“ their existence, are admitted as spectators of
“ all the magnificence of the universe, and made
“ partakers of all the temporal and eternal boun-
“ ties of GOD. Let us endeavour to proportion
“ our gratitude to such benefits received! Let us
“ earnestly labour, let us at least sincerely desire,
“ to be, if possible, of as much benefit to our
“ parents, as they have been to us! *Hoc agite,*
“ *optimi juvenes! Posita sit inter parentes libe-*
“ *rosque honesta contentio, dederint majora, an ac-*
“ *ceperint,*

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“ceperint. Quod certamen tam optabile! Felices,
 “qui vicerint! Felices, qui vincentur! Quid eo
 “fortunatius sene, qui omnibus ubique prædicabit,
 “a filio suo se beneficiis victum? Quid eo adole-
 “scente præclarius? Nullâ enim vi verborum,
 “nullâ ingenii facultate exprimi potest, quàm lau-
 “dabile, quamque nunquam à memoriâ hominum
 “exiturum, posse hoc dicere; parentibus meis
 “parui: cessi: imperio eorum obsequentem, sub-
 “missumque me præbui: ad hoc unum contumax
 “fui,—ne beneficiis vincerer.

“Nec desunt tam pulchro certamini duces qui
 “per vestigia sua ire nos cohortentur & jubeant.
 “Many sons have defended the old age of their
 “parents from want and injury; many have suc-
 “cessfully laboured to crown them with honour;
 “and to bless their latter days with great joy, and
 “greater hope; many have most ardently fronted
 “the greatest dangers to save their parents from
 “harm; many have even had the happiness of
 “returning life for life. Happy sons! But how
 “much more happy must be their parents! Non
 “enim tantùm vivere, quantùm a filiis suis vitam
 “accipere lætabuntur; & longè majorem ex animo
 “prolis, quàm ex re ipsâ percipient voluptatem.”

AFTER I had made these extracts, I took a
 solitary evening walk to that same temple of *Filial*
Piety,

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Piety, which we had visited this morning. Meeting the sexton in the church, I had an opportunity of seeing the subterranean chapel under the communion-table: which chapel was one of the dungeons of the ancient prison.

TWICE, if I be not mistaken, that pious and charitable action was there performed. Two different *roman* matrons, at two different times, there nobly incurred the hazard of their own lives, in order to save those of their parents:—Actions of charity, which, though performed by persons in private life, and in circumstances of indigence and obscurity, were yet *most highly* honoured and rewarded; the prisoners in each case being pardoned, and released, for the sake of the eminent goodness of their children.

HAVING fully indulged and satisfied myself in meditation on the subject of that story, I left the church of *St. Nicolo in Carcere*, and walked to the *Capitol*. I sat down on the terrace, behind the *Palazzo del Senatore*.

THE view of the *Roman Forum*, and *Via Sacra*, from that terrace, made me recollect some of my tutor's reflections relative to the character of *Metellus Pius*. I recollected at the same time several

ral other *roman* heroes, whose names are immortalized by their goodness to their parents.

NOR could I help reflecting with pleasure, that this noble virtue of filial piety subsisted even in
A.C. those dismal times, to which in the course of my
43 tutor's lecture we yesterday arrived; I mean the times of the second, accursed triumvirate.

IN the midst of all the horrors of cruelty and black perfidiousness, with which this city was then overwhelmed, filial love frequently shone forth with peculiar lustre,—*velut erumpente inter nubila vehementiore sole.*

I REMEMBER what *Velleius Paterculus* says on the occasion; and indeed, the instances of fidelity shown in that time of terrou, by wives to their husbands, and by servants to their masters, were very remarkable*; yet surely those performed by children

* It seems not unsuitable to the design of this work, to insert here, in a concise abridged manner, some few of those examples, as copied by *Freinshemius* from the writers of antiquity.

Tanussa virum suum *T. Vinium* conditum in arcâ, in ædes liberti *Philopæmenis* transtulit, ibique occultavit. Tum per *Octaviam* sororem *Cæsaris*, quæ multis eo tempore salutis fuit, *Cæsari* rem indicavit. Ille impunitatem concessit omnibus; *Philopæmenem* quinetiam equestri dignitate postea decoravit.—*Lucretium*, *Ligariumque* & *Antistium* celaverunt conjuges.—
Acilium

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children to their parents were not less worthy of commendation.

HAVING in my pocket a small french translation of *Appian's* civil wars, I turned to the fourth book; and—the place where I sat being then quite solitary, employed the half hour before sunset in perusing the happy fate of *Ignatius*; the goodness of *Geta*, of *Adrian*, and of *Metellus*;—so worthy to be called by his ancestor's glorious title.

Acilium uxor redemit à militibus, omni suo mundo dato.—L. Caesar à sorore sua servatur.—Servorum summa ergà heros fides erat; Hirtii præsertim & Ventidii: sed Panopionis & Menenii servi se percussoribus etiam obtulerunt pro dominis.—Ligariorum & aliorum fratrum summa erat inter tot terrores caritas.

Perhaps also it may not be improper to insert in this note some abridged extracts from *Appian*, relative to the examples of filial piety; especially considering *Velleius Paterculus's* strange assertion on that subject.

Ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων περισσώζοντων τε καὶ συμμαχωνόμενων πολλὰ καὶ ΣΥΝΑΠΟΘΗΝΕΚΟΝΤΩΝ.

Ἰγνατίου, πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, συμφυεῖς ἀλλήλοισι, διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπθανόν, καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπτετετμήνητο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπλήρητο.

Γέρων ο υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχωρῇ τῆς οἰκίας ἐδόξε καίειν, καὶ λαθὼν ἐν στήρῳ πύοντῳ κατελίπειν.

Ἀρριανὸς ἐν τῇ στήθι κεκολλητὸς ἐκ διαθηκῶν. “Τὸν ἐνθαδὲ καίμενον υἱὸς ἡ προγραφὴς προγραφέντα ἐκρύψι τε καὶ συνεφυγὴ καὶ περισώσει.”

Μετῆλλῳ ἦσαν υἱὸς τε καὶ πατὴρ. διακρίνοντι τῷ Καίσαρι τὸς αἰχμαλώτους, ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἦτορ κοίμῃς τῇ ἡμίλειῳ καὶ δυνὴ καὶ ρυτοῦ. Ὁ υἱὸς δὲ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τοῖς πατέρα ἀνέθορεν ἐκ τῆς συνδρείῃς (Καίσαρ γὰρ συνεστρατεύετο καὶ συνδρείῃς) καὶ ἠσπάζετο συν.οιμωγῇ. Οὗτος μὲν σοὶ πολυμ. γεγὼσι ὡς Καίσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ συμμαχ. αὐτῷ δὴ σὶ τοῖς πατέρα σῶζειν δι' ἐμῆ, ἢ δι' ἐκείνου ἐμῆ συγκατακάνειν. Οἰκτὴ δὲ ἐξ ἀπαντῶν γενομένη, μὴθικε σῶζεσθαι τοῖς Μετέλλοις ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ τοῖς πολέμιωτάτοι.

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I WAS peculiarly affected with the behaviour of another young man, a near relation to *Cicero*. He was imagined indeed,—if I be not mistaken,—not to have behaved quite well formerly to his parents; but at the time of the proscription, he nobly atoned for all his former faults. Most carefully did he hide his father from the pursuit and search of the assassins; and most patiently did he himself endure the most cruel torments, even to death, rather than discover him. The father,—in haste to deliver his *now beloved* son from such torture,

—*nec se celare tenebris*

Amplius, aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem.

Me! Me! Adsum qui feci. In me convertite ferrum!

—*Nihil iste, nec ausus,*

Nec potuit.——

Tum super exanimem sese projecit amicum

Confossus, placidâque ibi demum morte quievit.

*Fortunati ambo *!—*

AT the same time *Oppius*, a very rich senator, —a friend, I believe, both of *Tully* and *Varro*, received the fatal news, that his name too, though he was of the *Cæsarian* party, was inserted in the bloody proscription. Worn down as he was with age and sickness, he intended quietly to submit

* *VIRG. Æneid. ix. 435, 444.*

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to his fate, and patiently to expect his murderers; but he could not resist the tender zeal and tears of his son.

THE affecting scene of *Anchises* and *Aeneas* was then revived. After much earnest sollicitation of the son, and blessings and tears of the father, young *Oppius* appeared with the precious burden of his parent on his shoulders, staggering along the streets of *Rome*, and across the forum.

— *Nec me labor iste gravabit :*

*Quo res cunque cadent, unum & commune periculum,
Una salus ambobus erit *.*

O MY dear young friends!—you, who so lately admired even with tears an action of the same kind, nobly represented in one of *Raphael's* great works in the *Vatican*:—and you my dear tutor, who from my infancy have been a tender and truly *spiritual* father to me; and have diligently inculcated the duty upon me, in all our studies, and on all occasions, which I owe to my real, and much-loved parents:—tell me, if you can, what *must* have been my sentiments; seated as I then was, by the walls and ancient pillars of the *Roman Tabularia*, where those bloody proscriptions were

* *ÆNEID.* ii. 708.

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fixed; and imagining, that I saw the most excellent young *Oppius* thus traversing the *Forum* before me!

CRITO'S pupil here paused for some moments; and then proceeded, as follows.

No wonder, that the *romans*, who deservedly prided themselves in the belief of their descent from the ancient pious hero of *Troy*, should be moved with *so striking* a resemblance;

Atque animum patriæ strinxit pietatis imago!*

No wonder, that they should ardently have protected, and loudly, as well as tenderly, applauded this action. The bloody *triumvirs* durst not venture to attempt any thing further against the life of such a father, and such a son. Young *Oppius*, even at mid-day, safely traversed the midst of the city; and then—after having passed the gates,—sometimes helping the old man to walk a little, sometimes with tears of joy taking him again on his shoulders, quietly at length reached *Ostia*, and there embarked with him for *Sicily*†.

No

* *ÆNEID.* ix. 294.

† During the reign of *Augustus*, *Oppius* being returned to *Rome*, and living there in private and very narrow circumstances, on the day appointed for the election of *ædiles*,
the

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No wonder, that the *sicilians* should kindly receive him in their island. They were moved to it, by their respect for *Sextus Pompeius*, the common patron of all the proscribed: they likewise probably recollected, how much their own country also was celebrated, for an action of the *same* most moving and most laudable kind. You remember, my dear young friends, that noble story, as it is told in *Seneca* and in *Pliny*. You reminded me of it one day, while we were viewing the paintings of the *Farnese* gallery:—*Duo siculi juvenes, cum Ætna, majore vi peragitata, in urbes, in agros, in magnam insulæ partem effudisset incendium, vexerunt parentes suos;—patrem scilicet alter, alter matrem. Discessisse creditum est ignes; et utrimque flammâ recedente, limitem adaperit, per quem transcurrerent juvenes dignissimi.*—

the people, by a sudden resolution, would have him for their *edile*, notwithstanding all the objections he could urge against it. As he was by no means able at that time to bear the expence of this office, all the companies of the different trades in this vast city, probably by *Augustus's* voluntary and glad consent, engaged to provide and furnish *gratis* all the shows of the theatre, &c., for him. On the last day of the shows, and at the conclusion of the last play, the whole stage was on a sudden covered with heaps of money, which the numerous spectators in that vast theatre, with the loudest most heart-felt acclamations, showered down on it on all sides, for the benefit of this their beloved *Oppius*.—Εως τον ανδρα κατεπλητισαν.

Vid. *Appian*, lib. 4.

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THE same kind of heavenly protection, which was said by *Virgil* to have been vouchsafed to *Æneas*, when entering on the same glorious work.

*Descendo: ac ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes
Expedior: dant tela locum, flammæque recedunt*.*

* *Æneid.* ii. 632.

C H A P. VIII.

EIGHTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THIS morning, being *saturday* the 13th of *june*, the young nobleman proposed to make a visit to the small antique arch near the *Forum Boarium*. The company readily consented: such easiness of temper is indeed an indispensable requisite, for the mutual happiness of a set of travellers.

AT this arch the young nobleman passed half an hour, taking, as well as he could, a drawing of some of it's battered bas-reliefs. He then observed to his young friends, that one of the figures of these bas-reliefs seems to have been imitated by *Raphael*, in his cartoon of the sacrifice at *Lystra*.

WHEN he had finished his design, he walked across the way, to the opposite square fabric, commonly called the arch of *Janus**.

I KNOW

* Un' antica fabrica qui si vede chiamata volgarmente l'arco di Giano; con 12 nicchie per ciascuno dello quattro facciate. Questo monumento e di tale struttura di fabrica composta de smisurati

I KNOW not, said he, whether this grand building were originally designed as an exchange for the *roman* merchants,—according to the opinion of most antiquarians; or according to the popular tradition, as a temple of *Janus*. *Donato* is of the latter opinion*.—Perhaps it may have served for both purposes. In relation to it's plan, I cannot help thinking, that as, in the other neighbouring temple of *Janus* in the *Argiletum*, *Janus's* image was so formed, as to express by it's fingers the number of the days in the year; so perhaps *this* fabric was built with a *similar emblematic design*. It's four fronts might be allusive to the four seasons; and the twelve niches in each front may perhaps have contained the figures of the twelve months.

YOUR conjecture, replied *Crito*, seems to carry some probability: But I should doubt whether the representation of the months was repeated on all the four fronts. Perhaps on one of these sides might be placed the statues of the twelve *Dii consentes urbani*:—which *Varro* † describes
as

*furati pezzi di marmo Greco congiunti insieme, che e' for pre-
dente Ogni suo angolo e di palmi 102: onde in tutto e di palmi
408.* *Venuti*, vol. i. p. 5.

* *Exstructa sunt templa quadrilatera Jano quadrifronti.
Unum hodieque cernimus, apud S. Georgii in Foro Boario.*

Donato, p. 208.

† *Eorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant: sex mares, & fæ-
mina totidem.* *De re rusticâ*, lib. i.

See

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as standing in his time near the *Forum*,—and on another side, the twelve *rural* gods, whom *Varro* invokes in the beginning of his treatise *De re rusticâ*.—*Duodecim deos*, I think these are his words,—*qui maximé agricolarum duces sunt*.

Excuse my impertinence, dear sir, said *Crito's* pupil; but you were mentioning to us last night after supper, that the next name in your catalogue of illustrious *romans* was that of *Varro*. Why may we not be *here* favoured with your lecture on his character? *Janus's* temple is surely no improper place for such a conversation; whether we consider *Janus* in his mythological character, as patron of all the *rural* labours of the year; or whether we endeavour to view him in an historical light, as the first founder of this city, many ages before the birth of *Romulus*. *Varro*, in studying the primæval antiquities of *Italy*, must often have had occasion to examine the obscure history of *Janus*.

If, replied *Crito*, my paper on the character of *Varro* had been ready for your perusal, my intention was to have presented it to you, some day, when you should be passing by the church

See in reference to this subject, the description of the temple of *Nîmes*, given by *Montfaucon* in his journey to *Italy*.

of

of *St. Salvator in Tellure*, at the foot of the *Esquiline* hill. The temple of the *Earth* is supposed by *Montfaucon* to have been situate in that place. *Varro* makes it the scene of one of his dialogues *de re Rusticâ*.

BUT perhaps *this* place might have been more proper. However that may be, I must beg leave to defer, for some time, the offering you my notes on the subject of *Varro's* life; they are as yet by no means fitly digested for your perusal.

YESTERDAY afternoon I met, walking on the terrace of *Monte di Trinità*, your acquaintance the *french* marquis, with some gentlemen, his countrymen, who were lately returned from *Naples*, by way of the convent of *Monte Cassino*. When they did me the honour to join company with me, they were talking of the visit they had made to that famous abbey; they spoke much of it's library, chapel, and other splendid structures. From that subject their conversation changed to the *antiquities* in the neighbouring town of *Cassino*. Near those ruins, said one of the company, *dans un bassin formé par la retraite de la montagne, fut le lieu, qu' occupoient la maison de campagne & les jardins du Varron.*

I could

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I COULD have wished, that their conversation had dwelt on a farther description of the place; but it went off to other topics.

I TOOK leave of the company in about half an hour. On my return to your lodgings, I immediately consulted *Montfaucon* on the subject*, and then indulged myself in imagining the pleasure, which you, with your two worthy friends, will certainly feel, when in your return from *Naples* you will be passing two or three days at *Cassino*.

YOU remember, my dear pupil, what *Tully* says of that place, in his second *Philippic* †. *Studio-
rum suorum M. Varro fundum Cassinatem voluit
esse diversorium. Quæ in illâ villâ dicebantur?
Quæ cogitabantur? Quæ literis mandabantur?—
Fura populi romani, monumenta majorum, omnis
sapientiæ ratio, omnisque doctrina.*

YOU will recollect this passage with double pleasure, when you shall be walking on the banks of the clear and deep river at *Cassino*. I wish you may be able to trace out the situation of *Varro's* musæum there ‡.

* See *Montfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 22.

† *Seft.* 18.

‡ *Habeo sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fluit li-
quidum & altum—ubi est musæum. Circum hujus ripas ambu-
latio sub dio lata pedes denos. De re Rusticâ, lib. 3.*

BUT,

BUT, on the other hand, you will be affected with much concern, when you turn your eyes to the present state of agriculture in that part of the kingdom of *Naples*. In *Varro's* time, *Italy* was in general the best cultivated region of the known world. *Nulla quæ tam tota sit culta**. *Arboribus confita Italia est, ut tota pomarium videatur*. But how sadly different is it's present state! From what these *french* gentlemen were saying, it appears, that the delicious country between *Casino* and *Frusinone*,—that rich and fertile territory, which once flourished under *Varro's* eye,—lies now almost desolate. Even the fields of *Varro's* farms are now, in part at least, abandoned.

BUT let us defer talking further on this subject, till we see the place. When we are on that spot, we may, *with the utmost propriety, converse on the topic of Varro's character*. In the mean time I may perhaps be able to collect some memorandums relative to it. At present I am by no means prepared to speak on the subject.

ACCORDING to the generally-received opinion, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Varro's* life seems to have been, like that of his great contemporaries *Cato* and *Tully*, divided between *literary* and *civil* industry. If I mistake not,

* *De re Rusticâ*, lib. i. c. 2.

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he was entrusted with one of the principal commands in the piratic war; and by his conduct in that station obtained the very distinguished honour of a *rostral* crown. He commanded afterwards in *Spain*, in the war between *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar*. In his senatorial character also, he seems to have been much engaged in several of the great political transactions of the times.

YOUR observation is very true, replied *Crito*; but perhaps it may be doubted whether it would not have been better, if,—at least during the civil wars,—he had totally devoted his industry to the pursuit of literature. *Varro's* campaign in *Spain*, to judge of it from the account given in *Cæsar's* Commentaries, does not seem to add any very great splendour to his character. *Varro* seems himself to have been sensible, that a literary life was his more proper element. Immediately, if I remember right, after his *spanish* campaign, he retired from public employments, and gave up all the remainder of his life to books.

PARDON me, my dear fellow-students, if I pause some moments, to reflect on *Varro's* happiness in that sphere.

IN his old age, as well as in his youth, *Varro*,—according to *Erasmus's* expression,—*sensit studiorum*

diorum dulcedinem. He had received the greatest benefits from them in the first years of his manhood, while at the university of *Athens**; and now, in his decline of life, he was protected by them in a great measure, from the miseries of the civil distractions. *Illis tempestatibus prope solus erat in portu. Cum libris in pristinâ consuetudine permansit; & studiorum consuetudine leniebat dolorem. Ad eam vitam reversus est, quam multi docti homines fortasse non rectè, sed tamen multi, etiam reipublicæ præponendam putaverunt.*

I THINK, said the young nobleman, I remember some of those expressions in *Tully's* Epistles.

THEY are in his epistles to *Varro*, replied *Crito*; those epistles, which were written soon after *Varro's* return from *Spain*. Yesterday afternoon, when I had laid *Montfaucon* aside, I read those eight letters: I afterwards employed myself, for an hour or two, in turning over some leaves of *Varro's* treatises *de Lingua Latinâ*, and *de re Rusticâ*.

I SHOULD think, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the opinion of those learned men

* *Per omnium honestorum artium cultum Varro pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Revocabat eum ab illecebris corruptelarum, & lenociniis cupiditatum, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, studium sapientiæ. Vetrannius Maurus.*
of

of whom *Tully* speaks, must be a very debateable point. However I shall readily own, that there is something very pleasing in the idea of a studious retirement. The quiet and stillness of *Trinity-college* quadrangles, at *Cambridge*, have often struck me with peculiar pleasure, on my return from *London*, after paying some weeks diligent attendance in the gallery of the house of commons. I could wish, as we are now entered on the subject, that you would favour us with some account of *Varro's* literary labours.

I KNOW not whether it will *ever* be in my power, replied *Crito*; but I have not yet consulted several authors, who are said to have written some account of them. I wish I may find something in their writings, which may deserve your attention while at *Cassino*: But I fear, that even then, I shall hardly be able to present you with any thing more, than a collection of testimonies from *Tully*, *Quintilian*, *St. Austin*, *Lactantius*, and, possibly, some other ancients, relative to the high literary character of *Varro*, in general. Any thing *more particular* is not perhaps to be expected; for I know not whether we can fairly judge of *Varro's* literary merit from his two treatises, which are now extant; one of them being of the dictionary kind, and very imperfect; the other being composed by him when above four-

score years of age. In regard to his other works, nothing can be said, as they have all long ago perished.

YET, let me recollect : There is a reflection, which rises from this very circumstance, and deserves the attention of many *learned* members of the republic of letters : a reflection, which ought to humble the proudest of their hearts.

IN the whole history of the literary world, there cannot easily perhaps be found any *learned* man, whose writings seemed more likely to resist the force of time, than *Varro's*. *Varro*, by the universal testimony of ancient authors, was the most *learned* person, that ever existed in the *roman* nation. *Tully* adds, that he was *omnium facile acutissimus*. His long life was assiduously employed in publications ; he is said to have been the author of no less than five hundred books*.

IN the eightieth year of his age, *Varro* began to compile his three books *de re Rusticâ*. Let us suppose, that we now see him sitting down in his

* The word *book* is capable of different senses. Thus *Livy* may be said to have written *a book* on the *roman* history ; he may be said also to have written *one hundred and forty books* on that subject. It is in the latter sense, that the number of *Varro's* books is to be understood. Even when considered in this light, his publications must have been of an enormous bulk.

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library to this employment. At that time, what, probably, were his thoughts?

*Properandum est. Si est homo, ut dicitur, bul-
la; eo magis senex. Annus octogesimus admonet
me, ut sarcinas colligam, antequam proficiscar e
vita.* In relation to his corporeal frame indeed,
Varro must have been sincerely sensible, that it
was tottering on the brink of the grave, and must
soon fall into dust and ashes: But as to his writings,
he might have other thoughts. When he surveyed
with pleasure the rolls of his five hundred manu-
scripts, ranged perhaps in neat order on the shelves
of his library, he might flatter himself, that these
were as likely to last for ever, as the compositions
of Tully, or any other of his contemporary bro-
ther authors.

BUT how uncertain are the most promising
hopes of the immortality of any literary perform-
ance! Tully's works now extant, voluminous as
they appear, are but a small part of what he really
published: and as to Varro's compositions, not
one of all that vast number has escaped destruc-
tion. They have all, except the fragments of his
twenty-four books *de Lingua Latinâ*, long since
totally perished. Scarce even the titles of a tenth
part of them are known.

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DURING our residence at *Florence*, I employed an hour one morning in studying that obscure and imperfect catalogue of the titles of some of *Varro's* works, which the learned *Vetrannius Maurus* has, seemingly with much difficulty, compiled*.

WHEN I had finished that catalogue, I took a walk to the great duke's gallery. I passed through it's three long double rows of statues and busts: I passed through it's *Tribuna*, without attending to the *chef d'œuvres* of sculpture and painting, which are there collected. I went on to the small room adjoining, in which there is an object, overlooked, or shunned perhaps, by many *dilettanti*; yet certainly very affecting and instructive. You must remember the wax-work of *Caietano Julio*: it most naturally represents the scene of a burying-vault, in which the gradual

* From some of these titles, as well as from other accounts, it should seem, that several of *Varro's* writings were of the satyric kind: consequently the loss of these works is to be less lamented. For the same reason we must greatly abate our idea of *Varro's* happiness in his literary labours:—Happiness cannot reside in a mind soured with satyric malevolence.

But perhaps this may be a mistake; for in those works of *Varro*, which are now extant, no such malevolent spirit appears. On the contrary, they appear to have been written from a very benevolent principle: *ut non solum quoad vivam, quid fieri oporteat necessarios meos moneam, sed etiam post mortem.*

progress

progress of the dissolution of the human body is exhibited, in several small figures. The first corpse is swollen, the second discoloured and spotted, the third full of worms; the last a bare skeleton. Among the skulls and bones, which are scattered on the floor, lies *a torn folio volume* with this inscription,

ET OPERA EORUM SEQUUNTUR
ILLOS.

* * *

SUCH has been, and will be, the fate of numberless literary compositions, even of the best kind. The learned authors however may have this great consolation; that, though their works certainly perish, yet their intention in composing them, if good, will be everlastingly rewarded, like all other works of charity.

BUT to what place, continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the young nobleman, shall we have the honour of attending you, during the remainder of this morning? We are now on the road half way to the *Villa Mattei*. Shall we go thither? I should be very glad of your opinion with respect to some pieces of antique sculpture, which are there preserved.

No sooner had *Crito* let fall this hint, than the young nobleman gladly embraced it. He called up his carriage, which was waiting at some distance, and told the coachman to drive to the *Villa Mattei, sul Monte Celio*.

WHILE the company were on the way thither, *Crito's* pupil made some mention of that second edition of the *Academics*, in which dialogue *Varro* is supposed conversing with *Tully* and *Atticus*.

ON the mention of *Atticus's* name, the young nobleman took the opportunity of expressing a regard for his memory. He admired *Atticus's* abilities, judgment, learning, and the purity with which he spoke the best foreign language of his time. He admired also his prudence; his happiness in being acquainted with all the great men of his age, and generally esteemed by them; his amiable politeness, his constantly living with elegance in high life, yet constantly declining all offices of state, and avoiding all party contests.

THESE points of *Atticus's* character, replied *Crito*, seem indeed very pleasing; but I have often heard you wish, that he had been actuated by a more noble ruling principle. The preservation of *himself* in the most dangerous times; the
securing

securing *his own* ease; the promoting, if it might be by safe methods, *his own* dignity, wealth, and rank;—these seem to have been the principal objects and aim of *Atticus's* wisdom. How must the ancient heroes of this city, the *Curii* and *Fabrizii*, have despised so very poor and mean-spirited a plan of life!

YET, mean and little as *Atticus's* final object might be, I shall readily agree with you, that many of his actions were very praise-worthy.

SEVERAL instances of private friendship do great honour to his memory. He was candid: he was beneficent to every party, *when lowest*: he was very liberal both to the exiled and distressed, and to their friends and families. Highly amiable indeed is this behaviour; especially, when we contrast it with the party-rancour and fury of his times. And although self-preservation might be *Atticus's* most cogent motive to this political, as well as charitable conduct; it is very probable, that several sentiments of real humanity and goodness were joined and mixed with that motive. For, as *Middleton* observes, while the philosophy of *Atticus* was incompatible with all affections that did not terminate in himself, yet was he frequently influenced, by a goodness of nature, to correct the faultiness of his principle.

THE conversation now turned on the *epicurean* philosophy. While the company were engaged on that subject, the coach arrived at the gate of the *Villa Mattei*.

IN that villa are five apartments, each containing several valuable antique sculptures. In viewing these, the company gave their chief attention to the statue of *Livia Augusta*; to the bust of *Cicero*, which is in the fourth apartment; and to the heads of *Portia*, the daughter of *Cato*, and her husband *Marcus Brutus*, in the third.

THE statue of *Livia* is reckoned to be one of the very finest antique figures now extant: the bust of *Tully* is by the *roman* antiquarians esteemed *il piu bello, e il piu sicuro*: but it was for the sake of seeing the two last mentioned heads, that *Crito* had proposed coming hither this morning.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen viewed the countenance of *Marcus Brutus* with peculiar reverence and affection.

CRITO observed his emotion; and said, I wish, dear sir, that you would favour us with your present thoughts. The bust before you seems to have made a very deep impression on your mind.

How

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How can it be otherwise? the young gentleman ardently replied. From the earliest period of my studies at school, the name of *Marcus Brutus* has been dear to me; and shall I, while at *Rome*, be cold on this topic? With earnest impatience have I expected the time, when, in the course of your lectures, you should bring us to the glorious character of this patriotic hero.

BUT let me moderate my impetuosity, and endeavour to speak in a calmer style.

YESTERDAY afternoon I set myself a kind of short exercise on the subject: I need not say, that I should be glad of your correction of it. My young friends will permit me to read it to you.

SAYING this, the young gentleman took from his pocket-book a paper of notes: he cast his eyes on it for a moment or two, and then thus addressed himself to *Crito*.

THIS piece of paper contains only some few reflections on the education of *Brutus*. I ought to think myself much honoured, if after this little sketch shall have undergone proper correction, you will condescend to accept it, as a kind of introduction to your dissertation on his character.

OFTEN

OFTEN have I heard you observe, that the blessed work of education consists in the union of two noble arts;—*the improvement of the abilities of the mind*, and the *far more important cultivation of the goodness of the heart*. Permit me to consider the education of *Brutus* in each of these respects. In the *first* he had a *Tully* for his tutor; in the *second*, a *Cato*.

IN the *improvement of the faculties of his mind*, young *Brutus*, my dear friends, did not neglect the study of poetry, history, or any kind of polite literature, though his principal application was given to that of oratory. With regard to the particular style of eloquence in which he excelled, I must refer you to *Tully's* rhetorical works; in several parts of which—as you know better than myself—the praises of young *Brutus* are introduced with great affection and respect. The dialogue *de Claris Oratoribus* is even inscribed with his name. He had indeed acquired a very early fame at the bar, and was by *Tully* looked upon as the probable successor to his glory in that profession. He was blessed with excellent parts, attended with equal industry;—*in perennibus studiis se continebat*. His eloquence, beside its other merits, was accompanied and enriched, as I just observed, by much knowledge and learning of various kinds,—*uberrimis Athenarum artibus*:
and

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and it was ennobled by that still higher qualification, which *Tully*,—happy had it been his own case,—describes as most essential to an orator. *Summæ eloquentiæ junxit decus omne virtutis.*

LET me now, dear sir, continued the young gentleman, turning himself again to *Crito*, endeavour to consider those moral philosophic studies, by which the goodness of *Brutus's* heart was cultivated and improved. If you reflect, that from his earliest youth he appeared most excellently formed by nature to the virtues of gentleness and goodness, as well as those of generosity, fortitude, ardent patriotism, and a strong desire of always acting rightly and nobly; you cannot avoid thinking, that *Cato* must have been very happy in such a pupil. On the other hand, *Brutus* certainly had much more reason to esteem himself highly fortunate in such a philosophic tutor; a tutor, whose precepts were in several respects excelled by his practice; and who, both by precept and example, must have been greatly assistant to his young scholar; although the particular system of moral philosophy, that of the *platonick* sect, in which *Brutus* was chiefly educated, was not the same with that, which *Cato* himself had ardently, and as you sometime since observed, unfortunately embraced.

IN

IN closing these short reflections on the education of *Marcus Brutus*, you, dear sir, I am sure, will think one observation not improperly added.

BRUTUS was far from confining his studious diligence in any science,—much less in this of moral philosophy, the most important of them all,—merely to the *time* and the *places* of his education. During the whole continuance of his life we find him still persevering in this most noble kind of industry: in the midst of the greatest public business gladly making this best use of every leisure hour; and for that purpose frequently denying himself the indulgence of all other *meaner* kinds of refreshment or rest.

BUT whither have I been carried by the stream of my thoughts on this beloved topic? I have been impertinently talking a very long time to *you*, on a subject, upon which I ought much rather to have been listening to your instructions.

ON the contrary, dear sir, replied *Crito*, let me return you thanks, on my own account, as well as on that of these our two dear friends, for your kindness in communicating to us these reflections. I have indeed myself attempted to draw up some short papers relative to the character
of

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of *Marcus Brutus*; but they are very imperfect. Some parts of *Brutus's* life, particularly this of his education, I had not sufficiently considered.

THERE are other parts of it, concerning which, after much thinking, I knew not what to say. You will readily guess that I mean *the ides of march*. It seems very difficult to pass a proper judgment on that action. You will pardon me therefore, when you are so kind as to look on my papers, if you find in them no mention of that affair. Yet let me not omit, in justice to his memory, one weighty observation. However divided the public opinion may always have been, in relation to the nature itself of that action, yet has it been unanimously agreed, that the *intent* of *Brutus* in it was certainly most upright and disinterested; full of the most sincere patriotism and ardent desire of restoring liberty to his country, which indeed was his only view.

SURELY, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, we may say of him, with still more propriety than was said of his great ancestor, whom we just now saw in the first apartment of this villa*,

* The statue of *Junius Brutus* stands in the first room of the *Villa Mattei*, near the door. See p. 50. of the first volume.

Utcunque

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*Utcunque ferent ea facta minores,
Vicit amor patriæ*.*

WHILE we shudder at the idea of *Marcus Brutus* stabbing his friend and benefactor, it is but justice to remember, that he did it upon the same principles, to which, at the breaking out of the civil war, he had sacrificed the most just filial resentment, by joining *Pompey*. Without entering into the discussion of such actions, let me join with you in lamenting the fate of those, who are thrown into so distracting a scene; where they must not only struggle against general corruption and depravity of manners, but where is a much greater misfortune—they cannot form to themselves any plan of conduct, which their own hearts wholly approve, or exercise one virtue, but at the expense of another: In short, where they cannot invariably pursue the noblest of all objects, without sacrificing the most amiable sentiments of humanity.

THANK God, replied *Crito*, those scenes happen very seldom: But, let us quit the subject. While I was thinking early this morning in what place I could best converse with you on *Brutus's* character, I recollected that room in the *Spada* palace, where the noble colossus of *Pompey* stands;

* VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 822.

that

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that coloffus, which with great probability is thought to be the identical statue, at the *basis* of which,

That all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.*

But it would have been impossible to have conversed in that room on *Brutus's* character, without having our imaginations totally absorpt by an act, from the perpetration of which I could most earnestly wish to *withdraw* your thoughts.

AT the entrance of *this* villa, I endeavoured for the same reason, to divert your attention from that noble statue of *Julius Cæsar*, which stands in the garden, on the outside of the house.

LET us fix our minds upon other parts of the life of *Brutus*. There are several, said he, casting a look of compassionate benignity on the bust of *Portia*—which are very pleasing; whether we consider him in his *domestic*, or in his *civic* character.

* *Pompeii statuam contra Theatri ejus regiam marmoreo Jano supposuit translatam e Curia, in qua C. Cæsar erat occisus.*

Suetonius, in Aug. cap. 31.

See *Donato*, p. 29. See also *Abbate Venuti*, v. ii. p. 84. *Narro Flamminio Vacca, che il bel colosso alto xv. palmi che si ammira nel palazzo Spada rappresentante Pompeo fu ritrovato nel vicolo de' Leutari non molto lontano da questo Teatro, non essendovi di mezzo, che campo di Fiore; potrebbe essere la medesima statua rammentata da Suetonio qua Augusto trasferita.*

IN

IN relation to his *civic* character, several months ago, while we were in the *Milanese*, I had the pleasure of compiling some short papers, descriptive of *Brutus's* amiable behaviour, during his provincial government of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and also while he resided in *Asia Minor*. In each of those countries he nobly exemplified the practicability of doing much good to the public, in the worst of times.

IT was in the midst of the miseries of a civil war, continued *Crito*, sitting down, and taking out his roll of papers;—it was about the very time when *Cato* was slaying himself in despair at *Utica*, that *Brutus* accepted the provincial government of *Lombardy*, to the great advantage and happiness of that large and populous country. In those times of license and confusion, the *roman* provinces suffered, if possible, still more than usual, under the violence and avarice of their governors. In the happy province of *Brutus* alone, no insolence or rapine was then seen in the governor, or permitted by him in any of his inferior officers. Such indeed is said to have been the mildness of *Brutus's* gracious administration in *Lombardy*, as fully to make that country amend even for all her former calamities.

THE

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THE statue of *Brutus* was erected at *Milan*, most likely in grateful memory of his good government:—I mean that brazen statue, which *Augustus*, several years afterwards, in the latter probably, and better part of his life, much admired, and commanded still to be carefully preserved there: thus, generously, though a personal enemy, maintaining the honour of *Brutus*; and applauding the *milanese* for their gratitude to a great benefactor.

I COULD wish, said the young nobleman, that I had made some inquiry among the antiquaries at *Milan* relative to that statue; though most probably it has been lost and melted down long ago, in some of the many devastations and conflagrations, which that rich city has suffered. Excuse, my dear sir, this interruption.

THE most amiable and *universally* admired part of *Brutus's* life, said *Crito*, is his conduct in *Asia*, during the interval between the death of *Julius Cæsar*, and the battle of *Philippi*.

HIGHLY noble indeed does that scene of provincial government appear, especially if we compare it with the tyrannical oppression of the same country by the luxurious, rapacious, and cruel *Anthony*.

BRUTUS had been always in possession of the most desirable kind of reputation: he was every where generally esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, and admired by all good men: he was hated by none, not even by his enemies. This universal good name he had deservedly acquired by his extraordinary mildness; a mildness, never ruffled by any ill-natured passion, or corrupted or weakened by any voluptuousness and vicious luxury: a mildness accompanied with generosity, with disinterested integrity, inviolable uprightness, magnanimous zeal, and inflexible steadiness in whatever he believed just and honest. But all these his virtues shone forth in *Asia* with even more than usual splendour.

FOR, though *Brutus* was then deeply engaged in the midst of military preparations, both by sea and land, for succouring as soon as possible his distressed countrymen in *Italy*, yet did he give great attention to the affairs of the *Asiatics*.

BY a proper combination of justice and mercy, even then did *Brutus* revive in that country the happy memory of those great blessings, which the government of *Rutilius* and of *Scævola*, had conferred on it, in former times of peace.

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IT is true, that, as this was an era of general confusion, *Asia Minor* was not free from many calamities of war, occasioned particularly by the frenzy of the *lycians*. But even amidst the dismal process of war, the goodness and humanity of *Brutus* were indefatigably exerted on every possible occasion. Even in the dreadful destruction of the city of *Xanthus*, the mercy of a *Brutus* as eminently distinguished itself, as that of a *Titus* is said to have done, in the similar horrors of the siege of *Jerusalem*.

ALL the other provinces of that part of *Asia* found him gracious and merciful to them, even beyond their expectations. He entirely gained their hearts, and fully established the love of his government among them by peace and clemency. At the same time he was, for their sakes,—in exact imitation of *Scævola*—most bravely and justly severe on their *roman* oppressors. He publicly on this account disgraced and condemned some, who were the great assistants and associates of his own party; and who had born, even at *Rome*, the highest offices of the state.

MANY indeed, and memorable were the acts of justice, which *Brutus* was constantly performing throughout the whole of *this* his *asiatic* expedition :

dition: his justice was diligent alike in dispensing punishments and rewards.

IN some instances his conduct was still more exalted, and deserves perhaps a more venerable, certainly a more *amiable* name, than even that of justice itself. His contemporary *romans* were highly pleased with the punishment of *Theodotus*, the murderer of *Pompey* the Great. Yet surely, you, my dear young friends, will receive far more noble pleasure in recollecting, that *Brutus*, about the very same time, fully pardoned *Gillius*, who had even attempted to be *his* murderer.

CRITO now rose from his chair, and approached the bust of *Brutus*, with almost as much respect and regard as were expressed a quarter of an hour before by the eldest of the young gentlemen. His pupil rose with him, and, melting at the recital of the last-mentioned act of humanity, even embraced the bust, and pressed his lips on the cold marble.

FROM *Asia*, continued *Crito*, *Brutus* marched to *Thrace*. In *Thrace*, some short time before, he had been very serviceable to the *roman* cause; having, though in the midst of a civil war, generously recovered to the *romans* their possession of
the

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the province of *Sadales*, and suppressed the incursions of the barbarous *beffi*. From the coasts of *Thrace* he now approached to meet his fate at *Philippi*: he approached with fortitude and cheerfulness; still continuing the most abundant generosity to his soldiers, and love to his friends; but above all things, most earnestly longing to see the end, however fatal to himself, of the miseries of this destructive civil war.

ON the fields of *Philippi*, in both engagements, *Brutus* at the head of some few legions only, bore down every thing before him, and was very near obtaining a total victory. According to *Plutarch*, he performed every thing that was possible for an expert general, or a valiant soldier, to achieve. But let me not pretend to speak of his military talents: let me rather desire your attention to some of his noble sentiments, as expressed in two or three lines, which I have transcribed from *Plutarch*.

SAYING this, *Crito* placed his roll of papers on the table of inlaid *oriental* gems, that adorns the apartment, in which the company were then conversing.

Εμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκαστῷ μάλ᾽ αἰδοῦμαι μὲν
ἐφ᾽ ἡμετέραν ἡδονὴν ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν εἶδεις ἐψεύσατο·

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εαυτον δε των νενικηκοτων μακαριωτερον νομιζειν, 8 η εχθες
8δε πρωην μονον, αλλα και νυν, απολιποντα δοξαν αρετης,
ην 8θ' οπλοισ ουδε χρημασιν απολειψασιν οι κειρατηκοτες·
ως μη δοκειν οτι δικαιοι ανδρας αδικοι, και κακοι χρησους
απολεσαντες, 8 προσηκοντως αρχουσιν.— Δειθεις δε και
παρεκαλεσας σωζειν εαυτους, ανεχωρησεν απωτερω.

THE young gentlemen, one after another, read this extract: the conversation for some minutes dwelt on it's contents, and afterwards imperceptibly wandered to other topics. The inlaid work of the table first drew their attention; then the other pieces of furniture in the apartment; particularly the plan of *Constantinople*, which hangs on the wall*. Looking on that plan, they began to talk of their intended travels to the *Levant*.

IF from *Greece* and *Macedon*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, we shall be able to go by land to *Constantinople*, we must I believe necessarily pass by *Philippi*. Probably we shall find some tradition still remaining among the natives, relative to the great battles fought there. Perhaps too, in the neighbouring marshes or plain, we may be shown some distinct places, where, from the peasants having ploughed up human bones,

* In the third apartment of the *Villa Mattei*, is a very curious inlaid table of *oriental* gems; the plan of *Constantinople* curiously drawn with a pen; valuable busts of *Brutus* and *Portia* in a group, &c. See *Keyser's Travels*.

and

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and many rusty bits of armour, it is conjectured, that the army of *Cassius* or of *Brutus* was engaged. Our imagination will supply many other circumstances. On *that* part of the field we shall recollect with ardour the virtues of *Lucilius* and *Messala*. Here, perhaps, shall we say, young *Cato*, rushing on the enemy, exclaimed *,

*I am the son of Marcus Cato ;
A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend.*

There probably, under that rock, by the side of that brook, *Brutus*, the last hero of the roman republic, expired. Why is not a grove of laurel planted on the spot ?

THE young nobleman smiled with great good-nature at his friend's patriotic enthusiasm. *Crito*'s pupil then repeated several other lines from *Shakespeare* ; adding his wishes, that this tragedy had not been called *Julius Cæsar*, but had born a more proper, as well as a more honourable title, that of *Brutus*.

CRITO, in the mean time, stood meditating in silence on the idea, which the ardent imagination

* Αγωνιζομεν® υπερ της ελευθεριας, και ητε φυγειν ητε λαθειν αξιω-
σας, αλλα προκαλημεν® της πολεμιας, εμπροσθεν εαυτον εμφανιζων,
συνεξορμων τε της συµµενοντας, επεσε, θαυμα της αρετης τοις εναντιοις
παρασχων.
Plutarchi Cato Minor, in fine.

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of the eldest of his young fellow-students had suggested.

FOLLOWING that train of thought, It is true, said he, we shall all be deeply affected in viewing the place where *Brutus* expired. But unwillingly am I obliged to remind you, that, amidst the heroisms which adorned his last hours, there appeared in him some very great defects of moral character.

PLUTARCH with concern mentions one of them. There were two others, on which I wish I were able to offer you some suitable reflections.

BRUTUS, continued *Crito*, resuming his seat, had, as you observed, happily imbibed in his early education, and when arrived to years of maturity had always firmly held fast, the noble doctrine of *Plato* and *Pythagoras**; that suicide, on any occasion, was a very mean, as well as a highly irreligious action. Wearied however by affliction and labour, he himself sunk down to the same dismal and desperate deed. He gave no reason, which in truth, it was impossible to give; or did he offer any excuse, for so dire an act, but only the seeming extremity of his affairs: an excuse,

* See *Plato's Phædo*; and *Cicero de Senectute*, p. 73.

which

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which he had by no means allowed in the case of *Cato*, whom he always on this account highly blamed.

A DUE consideration of the perpetual mutability of all human affairs is one of the many supports, which reason offers against such despair. It is impossible for any person ever to be certain, that his condition is really and absolutely desperate. Perhaps, even at the very time when his circumstances appear to him the most extreme, a considerable change of fortune may be drawing near.

HAD the stoic *Cato*, in his last studies at *Utica*, sufficiently attended to that doctrine in the Phædo, which is declarative against suicide; and had he prudently retired, as the other senators did, from the untenable post of that *african* city; he would have found in the *neighbouring* country of *Spain* the power of his patriot friends rising with such strength, as to be able soon after, even without the assistance of *Cato's* name, to reduce *Cæsar* to the greatest extremities.

HAD the *epicurean* *Cassius* with-held his furious hand from self-destruction only some few *minutes* longer, he would have been made happy with the intelligence of *Brutus's* victory, and *Octavius's* defeat.

defeat. This hasty despair of *Cassius* is indeed strangely contrary to the behaviour of former roman generals, who in times of the greatest distress thought it their duty, *nunquam desperare de republicâ*; as well as to his own noble conduct in the *parthian* war, after the total defeat of the great army of *Craffus*.

It seems indeed astonishing, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that two such generals as *Cassius*, and *Pompey* the Great, should give up their whole cause on the ill success of one battle only; though each of them, even after that defeat, still continued in possession of great forces; as well as of a country behind them, which was full of resources; larger, and much richer, than one half of the present dominions of the vast *turkish* empire. How different has been the behaviour of the king of *Prussia* in the present war*!

HAD *Brutus*, continued *Crito*, after his discomfiture, adhered with proper perseverance to this *platonick* and truly *socratic* article of philosophy, I mean the abhorrence of suicide; had he with patience, and fortitude, and proper resignation, borne the present trouble, *only till the next morning*; he would then have heard, that his

* The reader should recollect, that this refers to the year 1761.

camp with fourteen thousand soldiers in it was still safe. Pardon the folly, my dear friends, of thus pretending to talk on military affairs; but, if I be not much mistaken, some of *Brutus's* land forces offered to make head, under *Messala*, against the triumvirs, even after the death of *Brutus*. However this may be, yet certainly, had *Brutus* deferred the fatal stroke, and made a retreat, he would soon have been informed of the great victory lately gained by his *naval* forces: a victory, which would have made him master of all the neighbouring seas, so that his fleet, in conjunction with the *ficilian* maritime power, would very probably have carried all before it, in every part of that important element. But *Brutus*,—how inferior to the heroic christian *Alfred*, when in much lower circumstances of distress!—*Brutus* despaired; and with him therefore at once fell, as you observe, the republic of *Rome*, and the liberty of his country.

BUT it grows late in the morning: had we not better be walking down to your coach at the garden-gate?

FROM the porch of the *Villa Mattei* down to it's garden-gate is a narrow walk, on each side of which are ranged near forty antique funeral urns.

THE

THE company stopped for some minutes to read two or three of the inscriptions on them; when the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning round to *Crito*, asked him, what was the *other* unhappy circumstance, which attended *Brutus's* dying hour!

HIS sad speech, replied *Crito*, which discovered such unsteadiness, weakness, and despondency of mind. I mean those *greek* verses, Ω τλημων, κ. λ. λ.—which *Brutus* then repeated, and which his friend *Volumnius* was probably ashamed to remember. Totally inconsistent were they with those noble lines, which you just now read from *Plutarch*. They were indeed, to give them their true name, a very false accusation against virtue: an accusation, highly shocking in any mouth; but peculiarly unworthy the dying lips of a *Brutus*.

IN relation to this subject, permit me to recollect some passages in a sermon, which was preached some time ago in one of the churches of *St. Giuseppe*, here at *Rome*. The preacher was comparing the moral lives and characters of the ancient and modern *romans*: in some points he sharply reprehended his audience for their inferiority to their pagan ancestors; in other articles he ardently congratulated them on their superiour happiness. Towards the close of his discourse, he had occasion to speak of the piety, joy, faith, and hope,
which

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which ought to attend and surround a death-bed, enlivening and enlightening all its gloom. In contrast with that happy scene, he mentioned the above dispirited speech, which in the moment of dejection fell unawares from the lips of *Marcus Brutus*. Then turning round, and fixing his eyes on a picture which hung over one of the altars, “O my dear brethren, said he, what an opportunity is now open to us, for pouring forth, if we were worthy and able, a full stream, a torrent of sacred eloquence! O my dear brethren, every day many thousand christians die in poor cottages, after having passed a life full of pain, labour, and want: *many, many* of them die in a temper of heart, thank God, infinitely superiour to that of the expiring *Brutus*,—however highly celebrated for his learning, abilities, and greatness of mind. But it is no wonder. *Brutus* wanted in his last hour that firm support of the cause of virtue,—the sure and stedfast hope of everlasting life; that holy faith and hope, which warms the dying breast of every good christian; and which has enflamed with celestial ardour the departing souls of eminently good men.

“LET the freethinker, the partial admirer of the exaggerated idea of heathen virtue, compare this mean speech of *Marcus Brutus*, with
the

“ the blessed raptures of those happy, thrice-happy
 “ servants and saints of the true God.”

Such were the sentiments expressed in a *roman* sermon. Pardon me for troubling you with the recital of them; but indeed they seemed to me so very apposite to the subject, on which we are now talking, that I thought it much better to endeavour to repeat them to you, than to offer you any of my own reflections.

SIMILAR reflections would perhaps have naturally arisen in my mind; but I should have been far less “ worthy and able” to express them, than this *roman* preacher.

BESIDES I should at present have declined launching out into such meditations. We shall soon have a much more proper opportunity, a much stronger call for them. We shall be soon drawing near those times, in which the heroes of christianity, the primitive martyrs, will begin to appear. Their virtue was strong, was ardent to the last moment: never, in any misfortunes of life, or at their last hour in any pains of death, were they suffered, like *Brutus*, in any manner or degree to fall away. They looked not for the rewards of virtue in a transitory life: they were not
 disap-

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disappointed at meeting what is called misfortune here; or in finding it continued to the last moments of their existence in *this* world.

*The world recedes; it disappears:
Heav'n opens on their eyes; their ears
With sounds seraphic ring.*

I FORGET the next line, said *Crito*, and laid his head on one of the stone coffins.

*O grave! where is thy victory?
O death! where is thy sting?*

* * *

AFTER the company had been seated some minutes in the carriage, the coachman drove homewards by the same way he came: and being now arrived near those ruins, which in *Noli's* map of *Rome* are marked by the name of the *Curia Hostilia**, *Crito* turned to the eldest of the young gentlemen, and observed: Is it not something singular, that at the battle of *Philippi* there should appear, among the principal leaders of the republican party, two persons, descended from families remarkably famous for their bravery in the same cause *five hundred years* before? I mean the two

* See p. 69, of the first volume.

persons

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persons of whom you were just now speaking with honour;—*Messala*, who was lineally descended from the great *Valerius Publicola*; and *Marcus Brutus*, descended from the family, if not from the person, of *Junius Brutus*.

HAPPY families! I am sure you will always esteem them such. Happy, no less than honourable, in being thus faithful to the support of public liberty, from it's first rise to it's latest fall.

MAY I always, replied the worthy youth, continue to be of that opinion! But I must own, that just then my thoughts were engaged on *another* subject.

ABOUT a fortnight ago you were lamenting to us the murder of the *Gracchi*. You had then great reason to be shocked at the prospect of the ensuing public miseries; *the very heavy and long-lived consequence of faction and civil discord*. Through what scenes of calamity indeed have we since passed! *Marius—Sylla—Cæsar—Mark Anthony*. I could almost wish you to recapitulate the whole horrid history.

By no means, answered *Crito*. Your thoughts may be much better engaged. But, if you choose to dwell for some few moments on that topic, let
us

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us take a *more confined* view of those public miseries; for instance, from the fatal hour when *Julius Cæsar* passed the *Rubicon*, to the battle of *Philippi*. During those nine or ten years, what an *Iliad* of evils have we seen! Civil war had been constantly ravaging some one or more of the *roman* provinces. May nothing similar ever happen to *Great Britain*! But I cannot help observing, that the civil wars of the *romans* were then become as extensive, as even those conquests, of which they had so recently vaunted.

NOR was the storm appeased by all that heavy shower of blood, which fell on the fields of *Philippi*. Discord raged—with some short intervals of a deceitful calm,—for twelve years longer: and during those twelve years, not only *Asia* and *Afric*, but even *Italy* herself felt much distress.

GREAT tracts of her most fertile regions were given up as a prey to the legionary soldiers. With what a melancholy accent did you, my dear pupil, repeat some lines of the *Bucolics*, one evening while we were walking on the beautiful banks of the *Po*, near *Cremona*!

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros!—Veteres migrate coloni*.*

* VIRGIL: *Ecl.* i. 71. and ix. 4.

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N

Other

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Other parts of *Italy*, during the same twelve years, were laid waste by slaughter and famine.

PERHAPS, said *Crito's* pupil, it was at *this* time, that *Horace* petitioned *Apollo* to avert from *Italy* *bellum lachrymosum, miseramque famem*. May such plagues be always indeed averted from this country ; but may they also be averted from those other nations, which *Horace* mentions in the next verse.

*Hic bellum lachrymosum, hic miseram famem,
Pestemque a populo, & principe Cæsare, in
Persas, atque Britannos,
Vestrâ motus aget prece*.*

I thank GOD, however, that instead of *Horace's* ill-judged and ill-natured wish taking effect, the corn of *England* now feeds great part of *Italy*.

A.C. THE *Perusina famēs* is, I suppose, what you
40 are chiefly alluding to, said the young nobleman,
When I was at *Perugia*, I was indeed greatly
shocked in reading the dismal history of the siege
and surrender of that city.

NOT only *Perugia*, answered *Crito*, but many
other cities of *Italy*, even *Rome* itself, suffered

* HORAT. lib. i. od. 21.

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much misery of the same kind, though in an inferior degree. The supplies of corn, that usually came by sea, were cut off. *The sea also*, for several years, was the bloody theatre of this tragic civil war.

BESIDE other great mischiefs, the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily* saw, in the sea-fights and shipwrecks of *Octavius's* and *Pompey's* fleets, a renewed image of the calamities of the first *punic* A.C. war. In the last engagement off *Messina*, if I remember right, each fleet consisted of above three hundred sail; while near two hundred thousand men stood in arms on the shore. 36

I COULD wish, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that there were extant a good and impartial account of the life of *Sextus Pompeius*. Much dishonour has been cast upon his memory by several *caesarean* writers; and yet some, at least, of his actions seem very noble and heroic. But pray, dear sir, inform us, which is the character, that *you* would choose principally to recommend to us, in our study of the *roman* history, during those twelve years.

THE character of OCTAVIA, replied *Crito*.

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IF you please, said the young nobleman, hastily catching at that name, I will order my coachman to stop at the portico of *Ostavia*. We *must* pass by it, or near it, in our way home.

CRITO gladly consenting, the young nobleman leaned out of the window, and told his conductor to drive to the church of *St. Angelo* in *Pescaria*.

* * *

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR erected this portico in honour of his sister *Ostavia*. About one hundred and ten years afterwards, being damaged by fire, it was repaired by the emperor *Titus*; and again in the following century, by the emperor *Severus*. *Severus's* name is still legible on the front of the building. Some stately columns are remaining, both in the front and behind it.

THE church of *St. Angelo* in *Pescaria* takes up, at present, the south-east side of this portico. The remaining space is chiefly occupied by several fishmongers shops.

WHEN the coach stopped here, the fish-market was over, and the shops empty: the company consequently were able to survey the place at their
leisure,

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leisure, and to converse without interruption. Their conversation turned sometimes on the amiable character of *Octavia*, sometimes on the ancient plan and ornaments of this stately fabric, which was, in *Ovid's* time,

—*Externo marmore dives opus.*

SOME months ago, said the young nobleman, when we made our first tour of the *roman* antiquities, I listened with earnest attention to our antiquarian in this place. He told me, that the portico before us * was anciently ornamented with many of the finest paintings from the *grecian* schools, and many sculptures from the hands of *Phidias*, *Polycles*, and *Praxiteles*. The idea of a structure thus richly adorned gave me great pleasure. Here, I imagined, stood the *Venus* of *Phidias*; and there, before that column, the *Theban Cupid*. Such were the ideas, with which my mind was *then* filled. But, since the progress we have made in our present course of *Roman Conversations*, I begin to have *other* thoughts. I am, by your assistance, every day learning to consider these great *roman* objects with the eye of a philosopher, or a patriot, rather than with that of a mere artist.

* See abbatte *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 89. See also *Donato*, p. 98, *Pliny*, lib. xxxvi. c. 5, and *Montfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 19.

HAD it been in my power to restore this ancient fabric to it's former splendour by a wish, I should certainly *then* have rejoiced to see the *Venus*, the *Juno*, and the figures of other heathen deities, which once stood within these walls, restored to their ancient places. But exquisite as their sculpture might be, I do not know whether, *in my present disposition of mind*, I should not rather wish that their places were filled by the statues, however moderately executed, of some *roman* female characters, which once really existed, and were truly meritorious: such as *Herfilia*, *Veturia*, *Volumentia*, *Valeria Balsa*, the two matrons of the *roman* charity, and *Portia* the wife of *Brutus*. The whole portico might be appropriated to *female merit*; and *Octavia's* statue would of course have claimed the principal place.

*Prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes:
Prima bonis animi conspiciere tui.*

ON the basis of the statue some of her amiable actions might have been represented in bas-relief. But let me not pretend to talk on the subject. I know very little of the *roman* history; and should not have ventured to mention the name of *Octavia*, if I had not been charmed with her most lovely character, as delineated in the lately published *Dialogues of the Dead*. That new pamphlet

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phlet fortunately came in our last packet from *London*.

WHEN we were making our first tour of these *roman* antiquities, said *Crito*, no person in this company, except my pupil, knew of the work in which I was engaged;—I mean the compilation of these *roman* characters. After visiting this portico, I employed myself for some days in collecting several particulars of *Ostavia's* life. But, reflecting that my pupil was able to describe these particulars in a much more agreeable manner than myself, I gave him my paper of memorandums, and desired him to try his poetic genius on the subject. In a week he brought me a copy of *English* verses, in which indeed were most amiably described the virtues, as well as the beauties of *Ostavia*: her ready charity to the distressed, in the times of the proscription; her earnest desire of being afterwards the instrument of public peace and concord; her patient kindness to an unworthy husband; her love to the children which he had by those vile women *Fulvia* and *Cleopatra*; and lastly, the overflowing maternal love which she showed to her own good son *Marcellus*, as well as to the rest of her young family. I could wish you would persuade my pupil to communicate this charming copy of verses to you. He composed

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several of them, as he told me, in this portico, and the rest in the *Aldrobandine* gardens*.

THE two young gentlemen now earnestly desired *Crito's* pupil to favour them with a sight of the verses; but could not prevail, as he assured them with truth, that he had not a copy by him.

THE case was this. In composing those verses, his thoughts had often wandered to a young lady † in *England*; the beauties of whose face and mind he had mixed in this poem with those of *Oſavia*, in the same manner as *Rubens* is said to have drawn one of the graces partly from his own wife.

WHEN he had finished this short poem,—a kind of ode, drawn up in the manner of that second chorus, which *Mr. Pope* designed for the tragedy of *Brutus*; he prefixed to it some verses in another metre, as a dedication of it to the dear object of his esteem; and then sent the *only* copy he had of it to her. He had often heard her admire

* The villa *Aldrobandina* is near the church of *St. Dominico*, on *Monte Quirinale*. It's noble buildings and charming gardens claim the preference to most. It's greatest rarity is a summer-house, in which is an old fresco painting, that, according to *Fred. Zuccaro*, was dug up in 1607 on *Monte Esquilino*, near the place supposed to have been anciently the garden of *Mæcenæ*s. It is an elegant piece, and represents a roman wedding, &c. *Keyſer's Travels*.

† See the conclusion of the thirteenth day's conversation, vol. i. p. 542.

Oſavia's

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Octavia's character in *Shakspeare's Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and was therefore in hopes she would kindly receive on such a subject a poetic love-letter from him.

CRITO having hinted this love-affair to the eldest of the young gentlemen, the conversation now became very chearful and gay. *Crito* himself partook, and greatly contributed to increase it's gaiety. He rejoiced in the thoughts of his pupil's marriage, almost as much as a father could do in that of a beloved son. In this conversation the minutes flew away with unperceived rapidity ; till by the striking of the neighbouring church clock they were reminded, that it was high time to return to their lodgings.

IN their way thither they passed by *Monte Citorio*, under the pavement of which, *seventy feet deep*, lies buried the amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus* *.

THEY dined at the young nobleman's apartments. At dinner the conversation turned on the battle of *Ætium*, and the conquest of *Egypt*. As soon as the cloth was removed, their noble host

* He was commander in chief of *Augustus's* land-forces, at the time of the battle of *Ætium*; and built this amphitheatre in the following year.

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produced from his cabinet several intaglias, cameos, and other pieces of *vertù*, relative to *Cleopatra*. *Crito's* pupil entertained the company afterwards with the adventures of *Marcus* and *Barbula* *.

IN the afternoon the young gentlemen, according to appointment, went with the *french* marquis to see the *Colonna* palace, and passed an hour with great pleasure in it's noble gallery. They had often seen it before, but were very glad of this opportunity of attending their *parisian* friend thither.

THE breadth of that gallery is about thirty-eight feet; it's length near two hundred and fifty, not including the elevated part at the upper end, which makes an addition of about twenty more. It's height is proportionably noble.

THE pavement is of *sicilian* jasper, and other *rich* marbles; and the walls are adorned with many large and *capital* paintings.

To these pictures the *french* and *english* noblemen gave their chief attention; they frequently, however, with the rest of the company, looked up to the painting, with which the whole cieling

* See *Appian*, lib. 4.

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is covered, and which represents the sea-fight of *Lepanto*.

It is remarkable, that this great naval engagement happened nearly in the same part of the *Ionian gulph* as the battle of *Ætium*.

A PRINCE of the *Colonna* family commanded the *roman* part of the combined christian fleet. On the other side came on the great *turk*:

*Victor, ab auroræ populis, & littore rubro ;
Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, & ultima secum
Bactra vehens **.

* * *

While the young gentlemen were thus agreeably amused, *Crito* was at home, enjoying a much more exalted, and in all respects a far superiour happiness. Saturday afternoon and evening he generally reserved free from all common business or study; considering those hours as a proper time of preparation for the devotions of the following day. But on *this saturday* evening he had the felicity of experiencing, in a peculiar manner, the benefit of that pious practice.

* *VERG. ÆN. viii. 686.*

FULL of joy and gratitude, for the numberless unmerited blessings daily poured down upon him from heaven, he was in his closet on his knees endeavouring to offer thanks and praise for them.

WHILST in that humble posture, it occurred to his mind, that on this day he had finished the third part of his intended course of lectures. However contemptible these his labours might *very justly* appear, in the sight of men of genius and learning, yet he thought he had great reason to be thankful, that neither himself nor his young fellow travellers had been passing their time *in a worse manner*, viciously, or idly. He might perhaps have employed his time at *Rome much better*. But imperfect as all his designs and works might be, yet he thought himself bound with all humility to be thankful for what had been good in them, however small the portion.

In conspectu misericordiæ Tuæ cum odore suavitatis ascendat!

SUCH were *Crito's* devotions on *saturday* night. But on *sunday* evening his piety was much more fervent. Thinking on the fourth, the far more important part of his work, he prostrated himself on the floor; *he wept*, he prayed with earnestness, that he might be duly *directed* in the execution of
it;

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it ; that his weak mind might be endued with a strength in some degree suitable to such an undertaking ; and, above all, that his most unutterable unworthiness for so sacred an employment might be most MERCIFULLY pardoned.

ROMAN

ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

Book IV.

C H A P. I.

NINETEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMONG the pictures which I have bought for my father in *Italy*, said the young nobleman,—as he was walking in the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, with his beloved *english* friends, on *monday, june 15*,—I have not yet had the good fortune to procure above two or three small landscapes. I am thinking to supply this deficiency, by desiring our ingenious friend, the *irish* painter, to employ part of this summer in drawing some views of the romantic environs of *Frescati, Albano, Tivoli, and Nemi*.

IN speaking these words, the young nobleman felt at his heart a pleasure, which no profusion of expence, in mere *vertù*, ever afforded.

THE

THE case was this. Beside the thought of pleasing his father by such a present, he had another *good motive* to this design. The last time he had seen the *irish* painter, he observed, that he looked very pale and faint: the heats of *Rome* having, in his present weak state of convalescency, almost overcome him. The worthy, noble youth imagined, that some cool country air would be the best kind of medicinal cordial for such an indisposition. With that view he contrived this commission for the landscapes; and that very afternoon intended sending his *roman valet de place* to hire some proper lodging, for the young *irishman*, at *Gensano*, a remarkably pleasant village, anciently called *Cynthianum*, and near the lake of *Nemi*, about sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. It was proposed, that the painter should stay there three weeks, or a month, and then remove, for about the same space of time, to *Albano*. He was to leave *Albano* about the latter end of *august*, and to pass the whole months of *september* and *october* at *Frescati* and *Tivoli*; those country towns being very wholesome in the autumn, at which season *Gensano* becomes usually damp and aguish.

CRITO was made quite happy by this fresh instance of the young nobleman's benevolence; and, in talking further on the subject, he desired,—to
use

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use his own humble expression,—that he might accompany the *valet de place* to *Genfano*.

YOUR servant, said he, shall come back to you to-morrow morning, with some news relative to the lodgings: but I must desire you not to expect me till *friday* next. I should be very glad to make, according to the *italian* phrase, a *retreat* in that charming village, for two or three days. The present sultriness of the weather, joined to the ideas suggested by *these* beautiful landscapes, makes me long for some quiet country retirement*.

IN such weather as this, replied *Crito's* pupil, even a hermit's grove or cavern would not be a disagreeable habitation.

—*O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi
Sistat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbra ?†*

* The walls of the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti* are covered with noble landscapes, the works of *Poussin* and other celebrated masters.

In these large rural paintings, the histories of some hermits are introduced; but the human figures bear so small a proportion to the size of the trees, rocks, lakes and streams, that on entering the church, it seems to be furnished with mere representations only of rural nature, and of it's vegetable or animal productions.

† *Virgil, Georg. ii. 488.*

THE young nobleman observed, that there is something peculiarly pleasing, during the heats of summer, in the ornaments of this church. These fine marble columns, intermingled with the verdant shades of this sylvan scenery, breathe a very refreshing coolness. Does not the whole structure seem to be designed as a kind of rich *rural* temple?

IN some respects, replied *Crito*, after a pause, this fabric may be considered as a temple peculiarly adapted to solemn meditations on *natural* religion. These rural representations are indeed uncommon: but in some degree they seem to be no unsuitable ornaments for a place, dedicated to the adoration of the Great CREATOR.

PROPER paintings certainly, as well as proper music, may sometimes have very great and good effects on a tender, devout mind: but the effects will be still greater and better, where painting and music can both operate together.—How happy should we be to hear the *Benedicite Domino omnia op̄era ejus*, or the 103d psalm, now chaunted to the organ in this church!

*Ascendunt montes, & descendunt campi,
In locum, quem fundasti eis.—
Quàm magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine!
Omnia in sapientiâ fecisti.*

DURING

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DURING the chaunt of these hymns, you, my dear pupil, would often turn your eyes to the beautiful and majestic works of the creation, which are represented on these walls.

PERHAPS, for a while, you would imagine yourself with *Adam*, in his terrestrial Paradise.

*About me round I saw
Hills, dales, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams.—
Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods and plains,—
Tell me, how I may know him, how adore,
From whom I have, that thus I move and live*.*

THE young nobleman now fixed his eyes in silence, for some moments, on one of *Poussin's* landscapes. He then turned round towards the altar; and, the church being at that time totally empty of other company,—he sung, in a low but manly voice, that favourite air from *Metastasio's* *Passion Oratorio*:

*Dovunque il guardo giro,
Immenso Dio, ti vedo.
Nell' opre tue t'ammiro,
Ti riconosco in me.*

* MILTON, P. L. Book viii. 261, 270, 280.

La terra, il mar, le sfere,

Parlan del tuo potere:

Tu sei per tutto ; E noi

Tutti viviamo in te.

* * *

THE company now retired from the church, and walked to their lodgings.

ON the way *Crito* renewed his request to his pupil, and the other young gentlemen, that they would permit him to make the excursion he had talked of, to *Gensano*.

THEY all knew how much he sometimes enjoyed his studies in a rural solitude, and therefore gladly consented to his proposal.

HOWEVER, said the young nobleman, we will not suffer the charms of the country to keep you too long from us. We will come and make you a visit at *Gensano* on *friday* morning. We shall bring our landscape painter in the coach with us, and take you back.

EVERY thing being thus settled, *Crito* left town immediately after dinner: he went in his pupil's chaise

chaife, and arrived at *Gensano* before it was quite dark.

As soon as he was gone, the young nobleman proposed to his two friends, that out of respect to *Crito*,—and indeed in consequence of a hint which he dropped to day at table,—they should, during his absence, prepare themselves for the ensuing lectures, by studying, separately, the history of *Augustus's* reign.

You, dear sir, said he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, will be able to employ two or three days very agreeably, in the contemplation of the *sciences*, as well as of the *belles-lettres*, which flourished here in that peaceful age.

You, my worthy patriotic friend, will have business enough, in unravelling the *civil* government of the first *roman* emperor, and the great *political* events and consequences of his reign.

THE more trifling amusement,—that of the consideration of the *fine arts*, which then adorned *Rome*,—will fall to my share.

ON *thursday*, if you please, we will meet at breakfast, and compare notes.

* * *

ON *thursday* morning very early,—for the heat of the *roman* climate naturally inclines most persons to early rising,—*Crito's* pupil was visited by his two friends.

WHILE they were drinking a dish of chocolate together, he asked them several questions, relative to the politics and *vertù* of *Augustus's* court; and received from their answers much instruction and pleasure.

WHEN the chocolate was removed, the young nobleman took up a *Horace*, that lay on the settee; and addressing himself to *Crito's* pupil, I could wish, said he, that some properly-qualified *english* traveller, while making the tour of *Italy*, would amuse himself with executing that design, which I remember to have heard you propose.

I MEAN, the collection of proper materials for *A new edition of Horace's Odes, accompanied with a traveller's notes.* Several illustrations might doubtless with much ease and pleasure be collected, from a view of the face of this country, from an experience of it's climate, and an observation of the customs and manners of it's inhabitants :—

tants:—illustrations, never perhaps to be expected from the labour or genius of any of our *tramontane literati*, who have not had the happiness of seeing these southern parts of *Europe*.

I HAVE been thinking, that such an edition might be very properly adorned; not only, as you proposed, with some neatly-engraved maps of the *Campagna di Roma*, and other parts of modern *Italy*; but also with some small landscapes, placed as head or tail-pieces to several of the odes.

LET me give one instance only of what I mean. The odes, which are descriptive of the environs of *Tibur*, might be very pleasingly illuminated by some views, in miniature, of the real country near *Tivoli*; and the present remains of *Mæcenas's* stately villa there.

I AM sure, when we were at *Tivoli*, viewing it's thick woods of olives, the romantic figure of it's hills, and the several beautiful streams which descend in picturesque cascades down their sides, through those fields, which once were covered with the pompous gardens of *Mæcenas*, or *Plan-cus*; we could not help recollecting several expressions in *Horace*, which seemed very apposite: such as

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*Et præceps Anio, & Tiburni lucus; & uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis*.*

THE young nobleman now opened the *Horace*, and read to the company several stanzas in two or three different odes: he finished with some lines in the xvliith ode of the first book.

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem

Mutat Lycæo Faunus.——

——fistulâ

Valles, & Usticæ cubantis

Lævia personuere saxa.

IT would have been fortunate, said *Crito's* pupil, if, when we were at *Tivoli*, we had thought of extending our excursion to the *Ustican* valley. *Horace's* small but elegant farm-house was most probably situate among the *Sabine* mountains, about ten miles above *Tivoli*. His river *Digentia* is, as I have heard, now called the *Licenza*: and his neighbouring market-towns, *Mandela* and *Varia*, are known by the half-corrupted names of *Bardela*, and *Vico Varo*. What pleasure would it have afforded us, could we, with any degree of probability, have traced out the spot of his *ferme ornée*!

* *CARM.* lib. i. od. 7.

HORACE,

HORACE, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, though he kept the highest company, yet loved a middle station in life, and knew it's value. This seems to *you*, I am sure, to have been one of the most amiable features in his character.

By the joint favour of the prince and minister, *Horace*, doubtless, might have accumulated a much larger fortune, and risen to some very considerable office in public life: but he had viewed things with too piercing and judicious an eye.

Cur valle permutem Sabinâ

*Divitias operosiores? **

I REMEMBER your good tutor making some excellent reflections on this subject a few years ago, before we left *England*. It was on that day, when we went to see the poor *porch-house* at *Chertsey*, which in the last century was the humble scene of *Cowley's* retirement.

AMONG other observations, I remember he then took notice, that, though *Horace* was far inferior to *Cowley*, in his general moral character; as far indeed, as he was superiour in point of poetical ability; yet still, their turns of mind were

* Lib. iii. od. i. 47.

in some respects very similar: The language of their hearts was on several topics, almost equally amiable.

OUR valued friend then dwelt with pleasure on the moderation, and other amiable qualities of *Horace*. However much, said he, we ought to abhor his vices, yet surely we are bound to express a due respect for these his virtues.

SUCH were at that time some of your amiable tutor's sentiments. But *à propos*: our noble young friend would be glad, if you would go with us this morning, to see the place of *Mæcenas's* gardens: those we mean, that belonged to his house in town; and to which *Augustus* frequently loved to retire, whenever a fit of sickness prevented him from continuing his application to public business.

I SHALL be very glad of the pleasure of attending you thither, replied *Crito's* pupil; for, if I be not mistaken, *Virgil's* house was built closely adjoining to those gardens of *Mæcenas*.

HE now rose from his chair, and taking from the shelf in his closet the first volume of *Dodley's* miscellaneous poems, turned to the "*Ruins of Rome*,"
written

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written by the author of *Grongar-hill*. He then read to his friends the following lines.

*Suffice it, now, th' Esquilian mount to reach
With weary wing; and seek the sacred rests
Of Virgil's humble tenement: a low
Plain wall remains; a little fun-gilt heap,
Grotesque and wild: 'the gourd and olive brown
Weave the light roof; the gourd and olive fan
Their am'rous foliage: mingling with the vine,
Who drops her purple clusters thro' the green.—
Here oft the meek good man, the lofty bard,
Fram'd the celestial song; or social walk'd
With Horace, and the ruler of the world.
Happy Augustus!—*

BUT let me not trouble you too long. Your carriage is at the door. I wish your roman servant, who is a tolerable antiquarian, may be able to conduct us to that spot, where *Virgil's* tenement is supposed to have stood.

WHILE the company were in the coach, their conversation dwelt on the characters of the two great poets of the *augustan* age. *Crito's* pupil remarked, with visible pleasure, that *Virgil* was at least as conspicuous as *Horace*, for the love of philosophy, of poetry, and rural life.

UPON

UPON coming to the *Esquiline* hill, they found themselves much puzzled as to the situation of *Mæcenæ's* gardens. *Montfaucon*, with many other antiquarians, places those gardens between the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, and the *Aggere Tarquinio*. The abbate *Venuti*, perhaps with more probability, thinks they lay near the church of *St. Pietro ad Vincula*, on the spot, which was afterwards in a great degree covered with that vast fabric, the baths of *Titus*.

IF, said *Crito's* pupil, we cannot with any certitude fix upon the situation of *Mæcenæ's* gardens, I am afraid we stand much less chance of being able to discover the place of *Virgil's* house. Yet certainly there must be some tradition kept up at *Rome* concerning it. I have some recollection of our seeing, in a manuscript at the *Collegio Romano*, an account of an altar to the *Muses*, which was dug up from among its ruins.

IT would be some satisfaction, said the young nobleman, if we knew in what musæum that altar was preserved. We would willingly attend you this morning to the furthest part of *Rome*, on purpose to give you the opportunity, and the pleasure, of seeing it. You would, I am sure, in imagination, pour some libations on it.

BUT,

BUT, as we are totally ignorant of what is become of that altar to the muses, let us in some manner supply the deficiency, by making a visit this morning to the ruins of the temple of the *Palatine Apollo*. We are not at present far distant from them; and it is yet very early in the day.

* * *

IN the large and romantic gardens of the *english* college, on the southern summit of the *Palatine* hill, stands a group of *stately* ruins, intermingled with several small groves of lofty cypresses. It is by far the greatest work of antiquity now to be seen on any part of that hill.

ACCORDING to common tradition, these are the remains of the famous *temple* and *library* of the *Palatine Apollo*. *Marliano* confirms this tradition. But other antiquarians are of opinion, that they seem rather to be the ruins of that *Hemicyclium*, in which were performed the musical games, in honour of the same poetic deity.

THE young reader of these papers, whose lively imagination is oft enraptured with poetical enthusiasm, and whose genius breathes it's fire, is desired to think, what would be *his* ideas, while ascending to the seat of the *Palatine Apollo*!

LET

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LET him imagine, that the ideas of *his three young countrymen* could not but be of a nature somewhat similar.

THEY ascended the hill, and for some time continued to indulge their thoughts in all the luxuriancy of poetic fancy. They would however have been soon satiated with this delicious entertainment, even with this nectar and ambrosia, if *Crito's* pupil had not kept up their appetite, by taking out his pocket *Virgil*, and reading to them, for about half an hour, some passages of their favourite bard.

THOSE, with which he concluded, were the descriptions of the temples of *Apollo*, at *Cuma*, and at *Delos*, as given in the sixth and third book of the *Æneid*. He closed the volume as soon as he had rehearsed the following lines :

—*tremere omnia visa repente,
Liminaque, laurusque Dei ; totusque moveri
Mons circum, & mugire adytis cortina reclusis**.

THEN, suddenly rising from the mossy bricks on which he was sitting, he took two or three short turns by himself in the cypress walk : sometimes looking up, in silent contemplation, to the

* *ÆN.* iii. 90.

ruins of the adjoining temple and *Hemicyclium*, the tops of which appeared to peculiar advantage, amidst the waving heads of the cypresses; sometimes looking down into the vast vaults and subterranean arches, which, where the ground has given way, discover themselves to a great depth.

Is it not very probable, said he, turning to his companions, that *Milton*, during his stay at *Rome*, frequently ascended this hill?

PERHAPS he composed part of his *Penferoso* here.—O that I could now, in his style, invoke the *unseen genius* of this place to *breathe* to us some *sweet music*,

Above, around, or underneath!

But alas! no genius of this cypress grove will deign to listen to *my* invocation; no sound of the harp of *Apollo* will answer me, from any of the deep recesses of these ruins.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen benevolently smiled at this poetic enthusiasm. I think, said he, my dear friend, you are as much affected with the memory of *Virgil* here, as you were last autumn, when we were rowing in a boat around
the

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the lake of *Mantua*, and down the river *Mincio**. You will long remember that delightful voyage;—

— *Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat*
Mincius, & glaucâ prætexit arundine ripas†.

I WISH, said the young nobleman, that we were at present in so cool a situation. The heat of the sun, reflected from these ruins, begins to grow intolerable. I am unwilling to quit this temple; but, suppose we were to adjourn, for the remainder of this morning, across the *Tiber*, to some of the shady apartments in the *Vatican* palace. They are the coolest places we can find in *Rome*: and besides, if I be not mistaken, we shall see in them some things relative to the subject of our present conversation.

THE young gentlemen agreed to this proposal; walked down the hill to the coach; and getting into it, bid the driver to set them down at the *Vatican*.

* * *

* *A deux milles de Mantoue est le village d'Andes, patrie de Virgile : on le nomme aujourd'hui Pietola. Les ducs de Mantoue y avoient fait bâtir la Virgiliana ; belle maison de plaisance ; qui a été détruite dans la guerre de 1701.*

Voyage de RICHARD.

† GEORG. iii. 14.

IN

IN about half an hour they arrived there. The first room they entered was the library. The young nobleman led them immediately to that painting, which represents *Virgil* and *Horace* in conversation with *Augustus* *.

HE then turned round to the librarian, and desired to be favoured with a sight of the famous manuscript of *Virgil*.

THIS manuscript is supposed to have been written in the fourth or fifth century. The young gentleman passed some time very agreeably, in examining it's characters, and historical pictures: but they thought *Bartoli* had done more than ample justice to them in his copper-plates.

FROM the *Vatican* library the company went up stairs into the open galleries, called the *Bible*

* See Abbé RICHARD's Description of the ornaments of the *Vatican* Library. *À gauche on a donné dans differens tableaux une idée des plus anciennes collections des livres.—Le sixieme represente Ptolomée Philadelphie, accompagné de Demetrius Phalere, son Bibliothequaire, & d'Aristée, qui arrangent la fameuse Bibliothéque d'Alexandrie. Dans le septieme, on voit Auguste, entre Virgile & Horace, se promenant dans la bibliothéque, qu'il avoit formée sur le Mont Palatin, où il avoit fait placer la statue de Varron.* Tom. v. p. 386.

Questa pittura e d'una mano imitatrice del Baroccio l'iscrizione dice. Augustus Cæsar, Palatinâ Bibliothecâ magnificè ornatâ, viros literarios fovet. TAJA, Descrittione del Palazzo Vaticano.

of *Raphael*; and thence proceeded to the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

THAT apartment is, as it were, a noble temple dedicated to the *principal* sciences;—theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and poetry. The ceiling is adorned with four figures, representing these four sciences: under each of which the walls are entirely covered with large pictures, correspondent to the same subjects; all by the hand of *Raphael*. The first, on entering the room, is that sweet introduction to all sciences, mount *Parnassus*.

IN this picture, after some search, they found the beautiful, though retired, figure of *Virgil*, close by the *Muses*, on the summit of the mount; followed by the principal poets of modern *Italy*; but himself modestly giving place to the majestic *Homer*, to whose song *Clio* is listening, and *Apollo* himself attuning his lyre.

It is remarkable, that *Raphael*, who, by the flowery *italian* historians, is said to have lived among all the arts and sciences on mount *Parnassus*, has here represented *his own* figure, closely attendant on that of *Virgil*. This circumstance occasioned the conversation to be turned to the similitude, or, in *Plutarch's* phrase, the *parallelism*,

lellism, of these two great characters in the *sister* arts.

THE young nobleman took this opportunity to inform the company, that he had been lately favoured with a copy of the life of *Raphael*, drawn up by an *english* gentleman*, resident at *Rome*; a gentleman, from whom himself and all the company had received continual obligations since their arrival there; and who, as they well knew, was fully a master of that noble subject. It is needless to add, that they were very desirous to hear it; and the young nobleman as willing to read it to them. They sat down near the great picture of the schools of *Athens*, and gave their most cheerful attention to the following paper.

RAPHAEL D'URBIN.

THERE is hardly a more pleasing or noble object, especially to all real philanthropists, than to see a person blessed with a favourable disposition and genius by nature; and to find also every circumstance of his life concur, for the bringing to perfection what she has so kindly imparted†.

RAPHAEL

* Mr. Jenkins.

† Περι δε της αγωγης και δι' λεκτερον. Καθολου μὲν εἶπαι ὁ κατὰ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν λεγὼν εἰσάγειν, ταῦτον καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς φάσκειν

RAPHAEL D'URBINO seems to have been as striking an example of this felicity, as occurs in the history of an age or nation. He was, doubtless, born with the most uncommon genius; but was also at least equally fortunate, in the first and principal blessing in life; that is, in having the best of fathers: a father, who was most deeply convinced, that the prosperity of his son totally depended on a good education; and who gave the most constant attention worthily to execute that great work of a parent's life. For this purpose, we see him beginning his care of his child, even from the first day of his birth; having a regard to the breast that was to nourish him, which he took care should be that of his most tender and loving mother; a woman of the gentlest disposition. Afterwards, during the first years of his son's life, he carefully took all opportunities gradually to instruct him in every thing, of which

ῥατερον εστιν· ὡς εἰς τὴν παντελὴ δικαιοπραγίαν τρία δεῖ συνδραμεῖν, φύσιν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ ἐθῶς· καλῶ δὲ λόγον μὲν τὴν μαθήσιν, ἐθῶς δὲ τὴν ἀσκήσιν· εἰσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαί, τῆς μαθήσεως· αἱ δὲ χρήσεις, τῆς μελέτης· αἱ δ' αἰσθητικαί, πάντων· καθ' ὃ δ' ἂν λείβῃ τι τῶν, κατὰ τετ' ἀνάγκη χαλὴν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἀνευ μαθήσεως τυφλὸν ἢ δὲ μαθήσις δίχα φύσεως ἐλλειπὴς ἢ δ' ἀσκήσις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀτελες. Ὡς περ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γεωργίας πρῶτον μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὑπαρξαι δεῖ τὴν γῆν, εἰτα δὲ φυτῶν ἐπισημόνα, εἰτα τὰ σπέρματα σπυδαία· (eadem similitudo in Evangelio) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γῆ μὲν εοικεν ἡ φύσις, γεωργῶν δὲ ὁ παιδεύων, σπέρματι δὲ αἱ τῶν λόγων υποδηκαί, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀγγέλματα—Εὐδαίμων μὲν ἦν καὶ Θεοφίλης, εἰ τὰ ταῦτα πάντα θεῶν τις ἀπεδωκεν.

PLUTARCHI de Liberis educandis, c. 2.

so tender an age was capable ; and, in particular, he paid the utmost regard to the customs and dispositions of those children, with whom his beloved boy made any acquaintance. During this time young *Raphael* gave every day fresh marks of the sweetest, and most amiable temper ; joined to which, as if completely to bless his good parents, appeared a natural inclination for the study of painting, the art which his father also professed, together with sufficient proofs of a great genius for it. It was from this motive that his modest parent, convinced of his own inability to render him such assistance as might be necessary, made application to *Pietro Perugino*, the most esteemed painter of that age ; and had the good fortune to prevail on him, to take this young scholar under his care,

THE amiableness of *Raphael's* temper, and his promising abilities as an artist, soon gained him the affection of *Pietro Perugino* ; whose instructions he received with such close attention, as in a very short time to imitate his manner so well, that it could with great difficulty be distinguished which was the master. The style or manner of *Pietro Perugino* was the most diligent imitation of nature ; mixed indeed with the stiffness of the preceding ages : but to this he added a degree of gracefulness, which to *Raphael* was of the greatest

importance, as it gave an opening to that trait of his genius. Thus we find him, in a very early period of life, to have advanced considerably in his profession, by the most sure and solid principles of that industry, which, even to a *Raphael*, was necessary for enabling him afterwards to attain with facility the more critical requisites of his art.

HAVING now acquired all the advantage that he could hope from *Perugino*, and hearing of the fame of *Michael Angelo* and *Leonardo da Vinci*, he resolved upon a journey to *Florence*, to see and study the works of these great men.

IN *Michael Angelo* he observed a greatness of style, that was totally opposite to the dryness of *Perugino*; and in *Leonardo da Vinci* a roundness and force of light and shadow, never before produced, at least since the revival of the arts. Being sensible of the excellencies of these two great masters, and knowing how necessary it was for him to profit by them, he laid aside every other consideration, and determined to bestow his whole attention upon these objects; to which he accordingly applied with all possible diligence.

DURING this time, as if fortune no less than nature had determined *every thing* for the perfection

tion of this their favourite, *Raphael* made an acquaintance with *fra. Bartholomeo di San Marco*, which soon grew into a strict friendship. *Bartholomeo* possessed the only branch of painting, in which *Raphael* seemed to want any instructions, namely, that of a perfect knowledge of the quality and application of colours.—But here let us pause a little, and consider, how wonderful an example is this great man of the important truth, that the finest genius cannot arrive at it's full glory, without a very industrious study, or without the help of other men.

HAD it not been for the well-founded principles of diligence, which *Raphael* received from *Pietro Perugino*, it is possible, that the over-charged outline of *Michael Angelo* might have misled him to a false style of greatness. The amiable strength of light and shadow of *Leonardo da Vinci*, which however wanted the truth of colouring, might have been equally dangerous for him, had it not been most fortunately and effectually prevented, by the friendship of *fra. Bartholomeo*.

WHAT a pleasure it is, to see such a series of fortunate events unite, at a time when probably the greatest genius, that ever was, had the utmost occasion for every one of them! It was now that a most favourable occasion offered of dis-

cloſing to the world, in full ſplendour, all the ſtrength of his talents. The ſurprizing genius and accompliſhments of this wonderful young man, then about twenty-four years of age, having reached the ears of pope *Julius* the ſecond, a great lover of the fine arts, he ſent for him, and aſſigned him immediate employment in the *Vatican*. *Raphael* was now at the criſis of his fortune; and the ſucceſs of his firſt performance was ſo great, that the pope immediately diſcharged all the other painters, though ſome of the beſt artiſts of the time, who were employed in adorning that moſt famous and ſumptuous palace; excepting only *Michael Angelo*, who was then in the principal chapel, carrying on his great work, the picture of the Laſt Judgment. The pope ordered alſo, that what theſe painters had already done might be defaced, to make room for the works of *Raphael*; an order, however, which this generous man oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power: Nay, even contrary to it, he cauſed ſome of the beſt of their works to remain; ſaying, it was but juſt that the world ſhould ſee, how much he had been beholden to thoſe great men who went before him.

GIVE me leave, my dear friends, in reading this paper of Mr. *Jenkins*, to pauſe one moment merely to obſerve, that ſome of the figures on this
 very

very cieling are the works of *Pietro Perugino*, thus gratefully preserved by his dear pupil. The two figures in the corner of this great and capital picture of the schools of *Athens*, under which you are now sitting, are, one of them, the representation of *Raphael* himself; and the other, which is here, by *Raphael*, made the *superiour* figure, is that of his ever honoured master, *Pietro Perugino*.

DURING the course of these his works in the *Vatican*, pope *Julius* the second died. But, as if nothing were to stop the current of *Raphael's* greatness, *Leo* the tenth succeeded to the chair: a prince, whose magnificent disposition led him to patronize all great men, in every art and science. He not only employed *Raphael* as a painter; but, finding him likewise an able architect, he gave him the direction of all his superb buildings; particularly the stupendous fabrick of *St. Peter's*.

AT the same time *Raphael's* favour was solicited by all the great personages of *Europe*, who even *prayed* to be made happy with something from his excellent hand. Among these was *Francis* the first, then king of *France*: the father of his country; the patron of learning; in short, that illustrious protector of all arts and sciences, in whose arms *Leonardo da Vinci* had died!

ALL

ALL these honours, which in any man of an inferior disposition might have enkindled pride or self-sufficiency, in *Raphael* had a quite contrary effect. As he grew in reputation, we find him increase in affability and goodness towards all around him. Such was the uncommon influence of his amiable temper, that all his disciples, who were very numerous, and every one anxious for his own advancement, lived under his care, in the most perfect harmony with each other: and so great was his generosity, that he was constantly ready to part even with the whole of his fortune, to relieve the indigent and miserable. He was indeed a friend and a father to all; and whoever wanted his assistance might have it at any time, or upon any occasion.

THIS happy disposition of mind in so great a man is apparently visible in all his works: for, as no one had ever a clearer conception for the composition of them, nor a warmer heart to give the truth of expression to each character, so did he always follow the dictates of his heart, by choosing his subject at that point of time, which admitted of the execution of the *most noble and amiable* passions. Indeed, it is hardly possible to behold any one passion expressed by him, but the mind must be most sensibly affected by it; and the passions, which he was constantly most fond of expressing.

expressing, were those of the highest degrees of warm and overflowing benevolence of heart, of the most exalted virtue, and the most devout piety. Thus did he represent, to the view of all succeeding ages, the most moving lessons, upon the two great principles of our duty to God, and our duty to man, by a method no way inferiour, either in force or dignity, to that of the greatest historians, orators, or poets.

HAPPY must it have proved, had he been equally great in the third essential branch of moral duty, that of self-government, or temperance! But, as it would be endless to recount every particular of the excellence of *Raphael*,—and may these bright and good parts of his character never be presented to us for our instruction and benefit in vain!—so it is likewise necessary, to own his failings, in order the better to put us on our guard against them. Let us never forget, that, in the noblest fabric, if one principal part be defective, the whole may easily be ruined.

IT is impossible to be acquainted with such a character as *Raphael's*, without conceiving the greatest veneration for it. How melancholy a reflection then is it, but at the same time how useful a lesson, to think, that so much worth should be lost or lessened to the world, by an imprudent,
or

or a vicious pursuit of pleasure! Such was the case with *Raphael*: he was cut off by lasciviousness, when in the flower of his years; in the fullest strength of his abilities;—in the height of his glory*. Nor had he even that consolation, which many young men, dying at his years, have had; namely, that his end was noble, and therefore impossible to be premature.

If *he*, whose hand is writing this, shed a tear for such an end of such a man; how much more reason to do so must *those* have had, who were once happy in his acquaintance and friendship! They, indeed, were with reason inconsolable. He was attended to his grave by all of his profession then in *Rome*; who alike regarded his loss as that of the most indulgent parent, the kindest master, and the sincerest friend. Nor was the great crowd of spectators less moved, when the body, according to the custom of his country, was exposed to view in the same place, where his picture of the Transfiguration, his last and greatest work, then stood.

* * *

* *Raphael* was born on good friday of the year 1483, and died, on his birth-day, in the year 1520; aged only 37!

AFTER

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AFTER having been entertained, said *Crito's* pupil, with such a composition as this, I know not how to venture to trouble you with any of my reflections.

IN attending to it, I could not however help frequently observing the many similar traces, in this character, and in that of *Virgil*. Both were blessed with great natural talents; in the improvement and perfection of which, both proceeded on the same *sure and solid foundation, of the greatest industry*. Both aimed at the utmost correctness, as well as spirit, in their works. Both gave their attention, with all possible diligence, to the study of the works of the great men, who had preceded them. Both made themselves acquainted with many other sciences, beside that which was their principal profession*.

EACH of them came to *Rome*, for neither of these great *italians* was a native of this city, when a patron of all arts and sciences was on the throne:

* *Virgilius, omni curâ, omnique studio, se medicinæ & mathematicis tradidit; quibus rebus cum ante alios eruditior peritiorque factus esset, se in urbem contulit, statimque Augusti amicitiam nactus, &c.* See his life, said to have been drawn up by *Donatus*. With what honour and love does *Virgil* speak of the first of these his studies, in the character of *Iapis*! How strongly also is his affection for the study of *natural philosophy* expressed, throughout the whole *Georgics*; particularly towards the conclusion of the second book!—*Me vero, primum, &c.*

Each

Each was highly favoured here by the sovereign, and by all the principal men of the state. They were indeed the two chief glories of the two *Augustan* ages of *Rome*.

THEY were equally remarkable in bearing all their great honours with still greater modesty, affability, and goodness to all around them. Each was, in particular, a kind patron and cordial friend to the other poets and painters of his time: each was consequently beloved by all the contemporaries of his profession, while *these* were full of rivalry and envy among themselves. Both took all opportunities, in their works, of showing their respect and gratitude * to their patrons. Both indeed frequently showed the singular goodness of their hearts, equal perhaps even to their great abilities of mind, in many parts of their compositions; and both, in this, as well as in so many other respects, may be attentively studied, to the greatest advantage.

* * *

FROM the *Vatican* palace, the company returned to their lodgings to dinner.

* *Bucolica scripta sunt in honorem Pollionis, Varii, Galli; quia in distributione agrorum indemnem se præstiterunt. Georgica edidit in honorem Mæcenatis. Æneidem autem aggressus est, ut Romanæ simul urbis, & Augusti, originem celebraret.*

AFTER

AFTER dinner the young nobleman very agreeably amused himself for an hour or two with Mr. *Spence's Polymetis*. His attention was first given to it's sixteenth dialogue, which bears a particular reference to some of the pictures in the *Vatican* manuscript of *Virgil*. He afterwards turned to the fifth dialogue; the subject of which is the introduction, improvement, and fall of the arts in *Rome*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen laboured without intermission, from dinner time till it was dark, in the study of those two long speeches of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, which fill the fifty-second book of *Dion Cassius*.

CRITO'S pupil employed the afternoon in the re-perusal of that treatise of *Plutarch*, which is entitled, Πως δει τον νεον ποιημάτων ακρειν.

SEVERAL passages in that treatise much moved him. Ουτε γαρ πολιν αι κεκλεισμεναι πυλαι τηρουν αναλωτον, αν δια μιας παραδεχεται της πολεμις· οτε νεον αι περι τας αλλας ηδονας εχηρατειαι σωζουσιν, αν γε δια μιας λαδη προεμεν αυτον. In reading this period, he could not avoid thinking of the fatal excesses which ruined *Raphael*.

NOR was he inattentive to some other observations of *Plutarch*. Τοις απο σικηνης λεγομενοις, κ̃ προς λυραν αδομενοις, κ̃ μελετωμενοις εν διδασκαλειω, ε̃νιοτε ομολογει τα Πυθαγορε δογματα κ̃ Πλατων—διο, κ̃ τ̃στων ενεκα, κ̃ των προειρημενων απαντων, αγαθης δειτω νευ κυβερνησεως περι την αναγνωσιν, ινα μη προσδιαβληθεις, αλλα μαλλον τροπαιδευθεις, ευμενης κ̃ Φιλ—και οικει—υπο ποιητικης επι Φιλοσοφιαν προπεμπηται—η μονη τον ανδρειον κ̃ τελειον τοις νεοις περιτιθησι κοσμον. In perusing these passages he wished, that in modern places of education such care was observed, with respect to the study of *Virgil*, and other *latin* poets, as *Plutarch* prescribes for the study of the *greek* poets, particularly *Homer*.

IT was now about two and twenty o'clock*. As *Crito's* pupil seldom had occasion to continue his studies so long as to *fatigue* his mind, he gladly closed the volume of *Plutarch*; and indulged the poetic meditations, to which his imagination was now strongly inclined, during a long solitary walk to the church of *St. Onofrio*.

UNDER a flat stone, in the pavement of that church, lies the dust of *Tasso*: *Crito's* pupil read it's short inscription; and, in reading it, dropt the nosegay of roses, which he had in his hand, on the stone; and left it there.

* *Four*, in the afternoon.

Da sacro cineri flores.—

HE returned to his lodgings from this long walk, sometime after sun-set. During the following hour or two, he amused himself with reading several favourite passages in the *Georgics* and *Bucolics*. He considered with pleasure the rural scenes there described, as the landscape paintings of *Virgil's* pencil.

IMMEDIATELY, before he retired to his bed-chamber, he composed his mind by reading those descriptions of happiness, with which the pastoral of the *Pollio* abounds. The remarkable turn of thought in the following lines seemed to him to be very much in the spirit of some sacred *oriental* poetry.

*Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum:
Aspice, venturo latentur ut omnia sæclo*.*

* VIRG. *Ecl.* iv. 50.

C H A P. II.

TWENTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE reader, perhaps, may not be displeased to turn his thoughts at present from *Rome*, to that delightful country village, to which *Crito* had retired.

CRITO arrived at *Gensano* on *monday* evening. He employed the next day in inquiring after proper lodgings for the young painter, and in giving orders for their being aired, cleaned, and furnished. He made diligent inquiry also in relation to the medical assistance, which the young man might want here, in case his late distemper should return.

ON *wednesday* morning *Crito* resumed his classic studies; having brought with him from *Rome*, in the pockets of his pupil's chaise, several octavos and duodecimos, relative to the history of the reign of *Augustus*.

AFTER some hours employed in the prosecution of these studies, he took an abstemious dinner,

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ner, and in the afternoon walked out into the fields.

AT the entrance of the town of *Gensano* are several regularly-planted avenues: one of these is terminated by a monastery. From the monastery a narrow path leads down to the neighbouring beautiful lake*.

WALKING along the avenue, *Crito* revolved in his mind what he had just before been reading upon the subject of *Augustus*. He reflected, with some satisfaction, that he was now almost within sight of that country town, which was for many ages the residence of that prince's ancestors†. He recollected what *Suetonius* says of *Augustus's* grandfather‡. May such, thought he, be my pupil's happy lot.

SUCH were *Crito's* reflections, while walking along the avenue, or sitting under the shade of

* *Proseguendosi si entra nelle bellissime strade di Gensano (olim Cynthianum); lequali hanno piu del giardino, che della strada pubblica, per le spalliere d'olmi tosati a doppio ordine con ampia larghura. Vi è anche un bellissimo giardino de P. P. cappucini, dal quale si vede il lago del vicino Nemi. Bellissimi sono i passeggi alla riva di questo lago, che rende il paese fruttifero e delizioso. Il giro del lago è quatro miglia.*

Eschinardi p. 303, 304.

† *Velitrae* is about six or seven miles distant from *Gensano*.

‡ *Avus, municipalibus magisteriis contentus, abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.* *Suet. Aug. in init.*

some of it's elms. But as he passed by the convent, and entered the woods which hang over the lake, *other*, and far better thoughts arose in his mind.

THE GREAT EVENT, which came to pass in the reign of Augustus*, and within the limits of his dominion, strongly attracted *Crito's* attention; and, by degrees, *totally* engaged both his head and heart. The hours of the afternoon and evening fled swiftly away, while his soul continued absorbed as it were in the happy, heavenly contemplation.

NOR was this the case only on *wednesday* evening: the whole succeeding day was employed in the *same* manner. All classical authors were laid aside. His time at his lodgings was devoted solely to religious books, written on the subject of that GREAT EVENT; and his rural walks were sanctified with similar pious meditations.

ON *thursday* evening, as he stood on the banks of the lake, revolving in his mind *that wonderful* work of DIVINE LOVE, he searched out a retired place among the bushes and rocks, where no eye could behold him. There joyfully knelt he down on the grass; and breathing to heaven some fervent sighs, he humbly exclaimed,

* See Advertisement, end of chap. iii. of this vol.

Let

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Let all the angels of God adore him. Such was the command of the ETERNAL FATHER, when he brought HIS SON into the world: though of the devout spirits of heaven we can scarcely imagine any to have needed such an invitation, or such a command. Oh! what must have been their devotions, when they saw the time of his holy incarnation approaching!

When Thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

ET HOMO FACTUS EST.

CRITO now rose from the earth, and continued his solitary walk. He ascended from the lake to the upper ground; then, stopping at a small heap of ruins, through which a wild fig-tree had thrust forth it's branches, he sat down there, and for some minutes surveyed the prospect.

ON his left appeared many mountains and hills, formerly productive of spacious olive-gardens, and the richest vineyards. On his right lay extended a vast plain, naturally fruitful, and anciently very populous; though now in a great measure uncultivated, and abandoned.

IT suddenly occurred to *Crito's* imagination, that this part of *Italy*, in it's present state, might perhaps be justly considered, as in several respects very similar to the *province of Galilee*, in the condition under which it is described by modern travellers.

WITH a swift transition of thought he now indulged himself in the hope of visiting that country.—If our *Levant* travels, thought he to himself, should extend to the *Holy Land*, it will be then some pleasure to us to compare the present condition of *Galilee*, with *Strabo's*, *Pliny's*, and above all, *Josephus's* description of it's ancient populousness, and high degree of cultivation*.

SUCH a comparison will be the subject of many melancholy, but pleasing reflections to us, in the intervals of those high contemplations and devotions, which are the proper exercise of a traveller's mind, while in those regions.—But, with what rapture will my good pupil survey the mountains and lakes near *Nazareth*! He will love the solitude, he will be pleased even with the poverty of that sacred village†.

CRITO'S

* See *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 775.—*Josephus*, de bello Judæico, lib. iii. cap. iii.—*Pliny*, lib. v. cap. 15.

† See the description of *Nazareth* in *Heyman's Travels*.
The place, where the Saviour of the world became incarnate,

CRITO'S soul now entered into a calm and grateful meditation on the *happy* virtues of humility, poverty of spirit, and love of retirement from the world; a meditation, which he was frequently wont to indulge, and which he always intermingled with ardent aspirations to heaven.

BUT let us not dwell any longer on the description of a good man's devotions. The celestial pleasures of piety in a great measure depend on their being kept concealed. *Soli DEO & angelis ejus nota esse debent, & hominum notitiam devitare.*

ON *friday* morning, about nine o'clock, Crito walked out from his lodgings, to the avenue on

carnate, and where he spent the greater part of his life, is at present one of the meanest in the whole country.

It's situation is very retired; in a small valley at the foot of an hill, surrounded by a chain of mountains.

Those mountains, though now bare and uncultivated, would however naturally admit of the finest improvement from the plantation of olives, figs, and vines: they command an extensive view of the *fruitful* plain of *Esdraelon*, anciently called the valley of *Jesrael*.

Within two hours journey of *Nazareth* stands the most beautiful of all hills, *Mount Tabor*: the lake of *Tiberias* makes part of the prospect from it's summit.

It may be proper to observe, that *Galilee* is a very different kind of country from *Judæa*. *Judæa*, particularly the region in the route of *Jerusalem*,—from which route most *europeans* unadvisedly form their ideas of the whole *Terra Sancta*,—is very rocky, and to appearance barren. Whereas *Galilee* is naturally a very beautiful and fertile land; though desolation is at present spread over it, as well as over the neighbouring provinces of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.

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the *roman* road. He sat down there on a bench under one of the trees; and, having a book in his pocket, intended to continue there, till his *english* friends, according to their appointment, should arrive from *Rome*.

THE book was a *greek* Testament: the passage, which on opening that book first met and gladdened his eye, was the following short description of piety and beneficence united.

Συνιρχοντο οχλοι πολλοι ακουειν, κ' θεραπευεσθαι υπ' αυτου απο των ασθενειων αυτων. Αυτος δε ην υποχωρων εν ταις ερημοις, κ' προσευχομενος.*

WHILE *Crito* was engaged in this most happy study, he was joined by an aged father of the neighbouring poor convent. Benignity and humility shone in his venerable countenance:

*His snowy locks were down his shoulders shed,
As hoary frost with spangles doth attire
The mossy branches of an oak half dead.*

His whole appearance, indeed, strongly resembled that of "the Hermit Contemplation," as described in *Spenser's Legend of Holiness*. He sat down on

* LUKE V. 15, 16.

the bench by *Crito*, and by degrees entered into talk with him.

THE reader may, perhaps, some time hence be informed, what was the subject of their discourse. Suffice it at present to take notice only, that their conversation was polite, friendly, loving, and earnest.

WITHIN about an hour the bell of the neighbouring chapel rang: the old man then rose from his seat, and very affectionately took his leave of *Crito*. About the same time *Crito* saw at a distance on the road the coach of his *english* friends; and walked forward to meet them.

HIS pupil with joy saw him coming; and telling the company of it, they ordered the coach to stop. They got out; and after several kind inquiries as to his health, walked with him into the town.

DURING this walk, they informed *Crito*, that they proposed to dine with him to-day at *Gensano*: and after dinner to make a further excursion towards *Laurentum* and *Lavinium*. They intended, they said, to pass a day or two in *that* country, the principal scene of the actions described in the latter

latter fix books of the *Æneid*; and should be very glad of their tutor's company.

CRITO with thanks declined this proposal: his reason for so doing was, partly, because he was unwilling to deprive the young *irishman* of his seat in the coach during so agreeable a tour, partly because he was desirous to avail himself of the next two or three days, in cultivating a further acquaintance with the good old father, in the convent.

* * *

SOME few mornings afterwards the young gentlemen returned to *Gensano*; and thence, taking *Crito* into the coach with them, proceeded to *Rome*.

THEIR conversation, during the first part of this short journey, was on the objects they had been seeing in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium* and *Laurentum*. From these it naturally turned to the topic of *Virgil's* poetical and moral character.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen then informed *Crito* of the entertainment, which he had lately

lately enjoyed at *Rome*, in hearing *Virgil's* character, compared with that of *Raphael d'Urbino*.

UPON a further explanation of this matter, the young nobleman promised *Crito*, that, immediately on their arrival at *Rome*, he would with pleasure communicate to him Mr. *Jenkins's* paper on the character of *Raphael*:—but *Crito's* pupil seemed rather backward in offering to show his tutor the observations he had made on *Virgil's* character. He desired further time therefore, to enlarge and correct those observations.

PERHAPS, said he, during our stay in *Naples*, I may be able to offer you a poor paper on the subject, some morning, while we are gathering fresh laurel branches from his tomb; or when rowing to the arched rocks of that small island, which is called *his school*. But, at present, I must beg to be excused.—My worthy friend here, continued he, turning to the elder of his young companions, has some papers, that will give you much greater entertainment. He has been hard at work, I assure you, since you left *Rome*, on the character of *Agrippa*.

* * *

THE coach had now advanced within two or three miles of *Rome*, when the young nobleman, looking

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looking out at the window, admired the noble effect, which the ancient aqueducts had in the composition of the prospect.

HARDLY any thing indeed can be imagined more striking to a traveller, than the numerous aqueducts, which are still to be seen stretching their long arcades, or bridges, across the *Campania* of *Latium*; and directing their lofty and majestic course to *Rome*, like comets to the centre of the solar system.

It was at a hillock on the *Appian* way, just above the church of *Domine quo vadis*, that the company stopped to admire this noble prospect.

CRITO took this opportunity of reminding his young friends, that the most ancient of these aqueducts was the work of *Appius Claudius Craesus*, then censor, during the first consulship of the second *Decius*: rather more than three hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The same person, said he, was the founder of this famous paved road, on which we are now travelling. *Viam munivit, & aquam in urbem duxit, eaque unus perfecit* *.

* Vide *Livii*, lib. ix. c. 29.—*Montfaucon*, tom. iv. part 2. c. 1.—*Hooke*, vol. i. p. 526.

THE second aqueduct was built by *Curius Dentatus*. *Curius* employed in that work of public utility all his part of the spoils taken in the war with king *Pyrrhus*. But his aqueduct is on the other side of *Rome* towards *Tivoli* *.

THE third and most useful of all the aqueducts was that of the *Aqua Martia*. It was built originally by *Marcus* †, but restored by *Agrippa*; who generously and justly left to it the name of it's first founder.

THE fourth and fifth of the *roman* aqueducts were the *Aqua Julia* and the *Aqua Augusta*, vulgò *Virginis*. These were, both, entirely the works of *Agrippa*; though that nobly-minded man declined giving his name to either of them. Indeed, at *Rome*, as well as in all other parts of *Italy*, *Agrippa* constantly endeavoured to hide his beneficence, under the name of his friend, patron, and

* See vol. i. p. 168.

† *Dicantur verà æstimatione invicta miracula, quæ Q. Marcus rex fecit. Is jussus a senatu aquarum Appiæ, Anienis, Tepulæ ductus reficere, novam à nomine suo appellatam, cuniculis per montes actis, intra præturæ suæ tempus adduxit. Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palmâ præconio urbis Martia est inter reliqua Deûm munera urbi tributa.—Annium omnium comparatione, differentia suprà dicta deprenditur, cum quantum Aqua Virgo tacu, tantum præstet Martia haustu. Pliny.*

Martia tota potui totius urbis servit: reliquæ aquæ aliis usibus assignantur. Habet longitudinem a capite ad urbem LX mill. passuum & DCCCX semis. Frontinus.

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sovereign, *Augustus*: or, which was perhaps more pleasing to that emperor, to attribute the honour of the design to *Augustus's* adoptive father, *Julius*.

I AM heartily glad, that we are come to the times of *Agrippa*; and shall listen, with very great pleasure, to your observations on his excellent character.

SOME time this afternoon, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, when you are not better employed, I will submit my papers to your correction: in the mean time, let not a thought relative to those papers interrupt what you were going to say further on the history of those aqueducts.

THERE is no occasion, *at present*, replied *Crito*, to trouble you with a long catalogue of the thirteen aqueducts, which were built by the successors of *Augustus*. Let me only observe to you in general, that such works of public utility are certainly the best channel, in which a sovereign can display his magnificence. King *Ahab* could erect a house of ivory; so called, I presume, for the same reason, as *Nero's* palace was called a house of gold: but it was the pious *Hezekiah*, who built an aqueduct, and brought water into the city. Let

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us not, however, at present, talk of *Jerusalem*. Let us rather fix our thoughts on *Rome*; and, if you please, prosecute our journey thither.

* * *

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now bade the coachman drive on; directing him, when he came to *Rome*, to turn into the *Piazza Navona*.

IN less than an hour the company arrived there. While the carriage was driving slowly round the great fountain, the young nobleman joined with *Crito's* pupil in admiring the august idea, with which *Bernini* must have been animated, while forming that magnificent design. But *Crito*, with the other young gentleman, observed, that however justly the modern *romans* might boast of this grand decoration of their city by *Bernini*, they ought not to forget, that the really useful part of this fountain was originally due to *Agrippa*.

FROM the *Piazza Navona* the coach proceeded to the *Fontana di Trevi*. The company here stepped out, to enjoy the agreeable, fresh, and cool air of the place. Under the shade of one of the neighbouring shops they stood for a considerable time, to admire the variety of cascades, in which *Agrippa's* virgin aqueduct there bursts forth,

forth, amidst the artificial rock-work. The young nobleman then turned the attention of the company to the new embellishment of that superb *Facciata*:—one of the bas-reliefs, which represents *Agrippa*, with his soldiers, searching for the springs of this fountain.

FROM the *Fontana di Trevi* the company walked on to the *Triton* fountain, in the *Piazza Barberini*.

THE designs and ornaments of the *modern* fountains in this city, said the young nobleman, are indeed very grand. Yet I much question, whether those of ancient *Rome* were not far superiour. If I rightly recollect, *Agrippa*, in the year of his ædileship, built for the use of the inhabitants of this city one hundred and thirty reservoirs of water, and one hundred and five public fountains; in the adorning of which he employed no less than *three hundred marble, or brass, statues, and four hundred marble columns*.

BUT let us turn down this street on our left. By the time we get to our lodgings, I hope, we shall find dinner ready. I think we ought to drink to-day a glass or two to the glorious memory of *Agrippa*: a glass, not of wine, but of what is far more pleasant in this burning climate,
that

that cool and pure water, which still flows from his long-lived munificence; though near eighteen hundred years have elapsed since that of the ædileship. All the houses in this part of the town, I think, are supplied from his aqueducts*.

THE company now walked to their lodgings, and sat down with pleasure to dinner. *Crito*, in particular, seemed very happy at the thoughts of being returned to *Rome*, and thus seated at table again with his dear friends.

DURING dinner-time, the young nobleman introduced the topic of that noble and useful work of sir *Hugh Middleton*, by which *London* and *Westminster* are supplied with water; subterranean pipes running through almost every street, like the veins through every member of the human body. He compared sir *Hugh's* benevolence with that of *Agrippa*; though he owned, that, to outward appearance at least, the capital of *Britain*, as to it's supplies of water, is far inferiour yet, either to ancient or modern *Rome*: as inferiour indeed to *Rome*, as it is superiour to *Paris*.

* Τοσούτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰσαγωγὴν ὕδωρ δια τῶν υδραγωγέων, ὥστε ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν ὑπονομῶν ρεῖν, ἀπασαν δὲ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν δεξαμένης καὶ σιφῶνας, καὶ κρήνης ἔχειν ἀφ' ὧν, ὡς πλείστην ἐπιμελείαν ἐποίησάτο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμήσας τὴν πόλιν.
Strabo, lib. v.

Modern *Rome* has the same convenience of plenty of water. See Abbé *Richard's Travels*, vol. vi. p. 225.

BUT let us not wander too much, said he, from *Agrippa's* character. Where, my dear sir, are we to have the pleasure of reading your paper on that subject this afternoon?

I SCARCE know, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, what place to choose for that purpose. Many parts of *Rome* were anciently embellished with *Agrippa's* public works of various kinds: but I suppose you will be glad to visit that great monument of his memory, which is the most universally celebrated. However, I will wait upon you again in an hour or two, when the air begins to grow cool, and take your directions.

* * *

ABOUT six o'clock in the afternoon, the company went together to the place of the *Septa Julia*, and thence to the ancient site of *Agrippa's* gardens, and the small remains of his baths; observing, that *Agrippa* finished each of these works at a great expense, and generously left them to the public use.

THEY next proceeded to the *Pantheon*.

APPROACHING to it, though yet at a considerable distance, they saw with pleasure *Agrippa's*
name

name engraven over the portico, in characters now all black with age.

THEY passed through the stately portico, and entered the brazen gate.

IF I be not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, *Virgil*, in his description of the building of *Carthage*, seems to have had in his mind, not only the idea of what would be the natural appearance of a new city, in a maritime colony; but also the idea of those magnificent structures, with which *Augustus* and *Agrippa* were in his time adorning *Rome*.

THE hint of the *alta theatri fundamenta* seems to have been taken from *Marcellus's* theatre. The principal temple of *Carthage* is embellished exactly with the same ornaments as *this Pantheon*.

*Ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexæque
Ære trabes, foribus cardo stridebat ahenis*.*

* VIRGIL, *Æn.* i. 452. The original brazen gate of the *Pantheon* was carried away by *Genferic*: it's brazen steps, with many other of it's ornaments, by one of the *constantinopolitan* emperors, in the seventh century: the vast nails, and other brass work, of the roof, to the weight of 45,000,250 pounds, by pope *Urban VIII*. The pope indeed employed part of this metal to a very noble purpose, viz. the construction of the present most magnificent columns and canopy over the tomb of *St. Peter* in the *Vatican*. See *abbate Venuti*, vol. ii. p. 73.

YET, perhaps this fancy may have no real foundation. Let us go into the church.—Though we have so often visited it, so venerable a pile still strikes us with awe.

THE company now advanced to the centre of the *Pantheon*, and looked up to it's roof; while the young nobleman made several judicious remarks upon it's architecture.

How pleasing, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, is the kind of light, which flows from that circular aperture! It seems to be something half-way between the splendour of the sun and the softness of the moon. Might not a modern flowery *italian* writer compare this light to the purity and brightness of *Agrippa's* character, attempered as it was and softened by his modesty?

WE will sit down, if you please, in that recess on our right, on the wooden bench behind those two rich *corinthian* columns. We shall be there more out of the way of those, who are continually coming hither, either from motives of curiosity or devotion.

THE rest of the company now took their seats, while the eldest of the young gentlemen stood
leaning

leaning against one of the columns. He paused for some moments in silence, and then fluently, without hesitation, or once looking at his paper of notes, delivered his thoughts in the following manner.

* * *

THE character of *Agrippa*, my dear friends, in one word, seems to be this. Very eminent merit; attended with very remarkable modesty. Let us first endeavour to consider his *military* history.

AGRIPPA'S eminent merit in this sphere of action, is demonstrated by the same proof as that of our *british* general, the duke of *Marlborough*: *He was always successful*.*.

AGRIPPA was victorious in the *east*: he was victorious among the most warlike nations of the *west*: in *Hungary* and *Germany*; in *France*, and in *Spain*.

BUT *Agrippa's* military glory was not, like that of all our *modern* commanders, confined to

* *Quantas ille res, domi, militiaeque, terrâ, marique, quantâque felicitate gesserit!* Words, equally applicable to *Agrippa*, as to *Pompey*. See *Cic. orat. pro Lege Manil. xii.*

one element. If in his campaigns he may, in any particular point, be compared to the duke of Marlborough, certainly in his naval victories he may be put on a parallel with the most famous commanders at sea. None of the *british* or *dutch* admirals could ever boast of trophies more splendid, than the rostral crown and sea-green standard of *Agrippa*. He subdued the marine power of *Sextus Pompeius*; that son of *Neptune*, whose fleets were most formidable in all the *western* parts of the *Mediterranean*. He had a great share in the victory at *Actium*, over the immense combined navies of *Egypt*, and the *Levant*. How eminently distinguished is the figure of *Agrippa*, in *Virgil's* picture of the sea-fight!

—*Ventis, & Diis Agrippa secundis*
Arduus, agmen agens; cui, belli insigne superbum,
Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ.*

THE word *superbum* in this passage was certainly intended to convey the idea of grandeur; not of pride: for *Agrippa's* modesty was as remarkable in the military world, as his glory. Though in the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, above thirty other commanders had solicited and obtained the honour of a triumph; yet *Agrippa*, from a prin-

* *ÆN.* viii. 682.

ciple of modesty, as well as of prudence, constantly declined it. He declined *that* honour, which, to a *roman* eye, had always appeared the highest and most desirable object of military pursuit.

PERMIT me to observe, that this modesty of *Agrippa* has been very abundantly rewarded. For, while almost all his contemporary generals and admirals are comparatively sunk into oblivion, the memory of *Agrippa's* military glory still flourishes.

THIS seems the more remarkable; as the works of that great historian, and poet, who particularly recorded *Agrippa's* military history, and whose writings, it might be imagined, would have proved in the long run the most firm supports of his fame, have both long ago perished. — I mean *Livy*, and *Varius*.

OFTEN did I wish last week, that the part of *Livy's* history, which related to *Agrippa*, had been preserved. Often have I heard you, my dear friend,—turning to *Crito's* pupil,—lament the loss of the poems of *Varius*; the *roman Homer*.

*Scriberis Vario fortis, & hostium
 Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
 Quam rem cunque ferox navibus, aut equis
 Miles, te duce, gesserit.*

*Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere, nec gravem
 Peleidæ stomachum, cedere nescii,
 Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulyssæi,
 Conamur*.*

IF Varius, in any degree, really resembled Homer, particularly in the art of drawing characters, his military character of *Agrippa* may justly be imagined to have contained several particulars, very instructive to the young roman reader.

FOR, beside the eminent merit of an able commander, *Agrippa* possessed many military accomplishments, suitable to the character of a poet's hero; and such as a young reader might be animated to the hopes of imitating. *Virtutis erat nobilissimæ; labore, vigiliâ, periculo instructus.*

BUT let us now turn our thoughts to another subject.

* HORAT. lib. i. od. 6.

SITTING, as you are at present, under the stately roof of this venerable fabric; a fabric erected by *Agrippa* for a religious purpose, and for above these last thousand years constantly used as a christian church; you, my dear sir, said our young orator, addressing himself to *Crito*, will justly expect, that we should endeavour to exercise our little eloquence, not so much upon the military achievements of *Agrippa*, as on that far better topic, his labours in times of peace.

AGRIPPA, in his high station, must have had frequent opportunities of being beneficent to several of the nations, who were then subject to the roman empire. He is said to have behaved to them with great equity and goodness—But you are going to say something: let me not prevent you.

I REMEMBER reading with great pleasure in *Josephus*, replied *Crito*, some particulars of *Agrippa's* just and true beneficence to the inhabitants of *Asia Minor**; as well as the description of his visit to *Jerusalem*†.

THE

* Πρὸ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἣν ἐβράδυνετο ὁ Ἀγρίππας.—Χρὴς ἡν καὶ μεγαλοψυχῶς πρὸ τοῦ παρεχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἡξιοῦσιν ὠφελίμα, μηδενὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐλῦπει. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xvi.

† Ἦγεν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων, ὑπαντῶντ' αὐτῷ τε τῇ δήμῳ πάντ' ἐν εὐφροδῇ γόλῃ, καὶ δεχόμενῳ τὸν ἀνδρα συν εὐφημίαις. Ἀγρίππας

THE conversation now dwelt for some minutes on that article of the *jewish* history. It afterwards returned to it's former topic; the young nobleman observing, that *Agrippa* adorned several parts of *Europe* with works of great public utility, as well as splendour.

I REMEMBER, said he, while in *France*, we were informed, that *Agrippa* was the author of the vast design of those four great roads, which, from their mutual centre near *Lyons*, were extended to the most distant parts of the *gallic* provinces. The learned abbé, who gave us this information, added, that some remains of these roads were still visible near *Lyons*. You must, I think, remember that conversation. It happened soon after our first arrival from *England* at *Paris*, while we were viewing the church of the *Hôpital des Invalides*. Don't you recollect, with what pleasure the abbé then digressed from this work of *Agrippa*, into a panegyric on the many modern public works in *France*? He described the long and magnificent avenues, planted and paved, which lead from several quarters, particularly from *Fontainebleau* to *Paris*; then recited a cata-

πες δὲ τῷ ΘΕΩ μὲν ἐκπομπὴν κατεΐσεν, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ὄμιλον. — Ἀπαγγελ-
λεῖται δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων, ὡς μὲν ἐπεὶ τῆς χώρας εὐμενῆς, ὡς
δὲ ἀπεδωκας τῷ ΘΕΩ τὰ τελεῖα θυμάτων, τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελείαις
εὐχαῖς, ὡς δὲ τοῦ ὄμιλου ἐστίαςας, ἡ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνη ξενία προσήκω.
Ibid.

logue

logue of the splendid structures, with which *Louis le Grand* and *Colbert* adorned the bank of the *Seine*; and told us, that in making the tour of *France*, we should be eye-witnesses of many long canals joining rivers naturally distant; and some joining distant seas.

I VERY well recollect that conversation, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Our hearts sympathized with the abbé's public spirit: for, thank God! we have not been educated in the darkness of that narrow and mean policy, which envies and depreciates every noble action achieved by *frenchmen*, or that grudges every blessing vouchsafed by providence to *France*. There is a policy, infinitely more generous, brave, and wise: which knows how to rejoice in the virtues and prosperities of neighbouring nations; although, as in duty bound, it's labours be chiefly directed to the advantage of it's own people.

THE good abbé, I remember, listened with pleasure to the account we gave him, of the improvements which were making in *England*; such as our new bridges, new roads, and other works of peace. I wish we had been able to communicate to him that great plan of inland navigation, which I hear, from *Staffordshire*, is now preparing to be laid before the house of commons: a
plan

plan for the junction of the *Severn, Trent, and Mersey.*

Bid harbours open, public ways extend,

Bid temples, worthier of the God, ascend;

Back to his bounds the subject sea command,

And roll obedient rivers thro' the land :

These honours PEACE to happy Britain brings ;

These are Imperial works, and worthy Kings.*

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, the similar generous sentiments, which flowed from your lips and heart, while viewing the ruins at *Dunkirk*. As an *englishman* you felt glad, that the trade of *London* was secured by the dismantling of *Dunkirk*; but yet, you expressed much concern, that a work of such magnificence, and of such utility to the commerce of *France*, and *Flanders*, should be brought to desolation. You cast a look of compassion on it's long canal, then almost choked with sand; and on it's moles, over which the sea, at a high tide, was then washing. You did not rejoice at the demolition even of it's forts; some of which were then in ruins, some laid level with the sands, others buried in the waves. You wished, that the security of your country could have been effected by other means. But let us not deviate too much from the subject of our *roman* studies.

* *Pope, Moral Essays*, ep. iv. addressed to lord *Burlington*.

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IF *Agrippa*, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, were beneficent to *France*, he proved, as must naturally be imagined, far more so to *Italy*.

OF this we shall perhaps see one specimen, in our journey to *Naples*: I mean, that great artificial sea-port, near *Misenum*; which, though constructed in time of war, and designed as a station for the *italian* fleet, to oppose the invasions of *Sextus Pompeius**; yet certainly proved very useful to trade and navigation also, in the following years of peace.

AGRIPPA'S designs were likewise very beneficial in dispersing the pestilential vapours, that infected the country round the lake *Averno*. Of his labours, however, between the *Averno* and *Lucrine*, I am afraid, we shall find but few traces remaining; as the face of that shore is said to be very considerably changed, by the inundations of the sea, and the eruptions of subterranean fires.

BUT whatever were the public labours of *Agrippa*, in other parts of *Italy*, *Rome* seems to

* See *Freinssem.* book 128. c. 29, 30. and *Suetonius*, A. V. C. 717.—*Misenum* seems to have been the *Plymouth*, as *Antium* was the *Portsmouth*, and *Ostia* the *Nore*, of ancient *Rome*.

have

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have been the place, the improvement and embellishment of which he had most at heart.

It is needless for me to speak on that topic. This morning, this afternoon, this instant, your own eyes are witnesses of the magnificence, with which he adorned the capital of his country.

LONG aqueducts, and numerous fountains; public baths, and public gardens; vast porticos for the comitia, or assemblies of the people; stately temples, *particularly his Pantheon*; were the works of *Agrippa*: works, far surpassing those of any other private *roman*, and perhaps unequalled by those of any emperor.

O MY dear friends! when we shall be at *Athens*, viewing the grand portico of the temple of *Minerva* in the *Acropolis*, and talking of the times of *Pericles*; shall we not then recollect *Agrippa*, and his *Pantheon*? *Agrippa* was the *roman Pericles*, in relation to the grandeur of his public structures: in other respects, his character was far superiour.

THE young nobleman now rose from his seat; and after some pause, How much more honourable to *Agrippa*, said he, was such magnificence, thus displayed in works of *public utility*, than if
he

he had confined his vast expences to the adorning merely his own palace, or villa.

IF I be not mistaken, *Agrippa* once proposed, that the chef d'œuvres of sculpture and painting then in *Rome* should not be suffered to remain any longer in private hands; but, satisfaction being made to the owners, should all be removed to some of the *public* buildings in this city. *Agrippa* set the example of this, as well as proposed the design*.

THE design, said *Crito's* pupil, seems to have been originally suggested by *Socrates*; who thought that such a measure, in *Athens*, would be a great means of repressing *private* luxury and pride; as well as of encouraging the fine arts, and of increasing the *public* magnificence. If I remember right, it is in the third book of the *Memoabilia*.—But we interrupt our friend.

WHAT I have further to say on this subject, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, relates to a circumstance, which, I am sure, will give you peculiar pleasure.

* *Extat oratio Agrippæ, de hac re magnificâ & maximo civium dignâ. PLINY.*

THIS public spirit of *Agrippa* was attended with the same *modesty*, that accompanied his military merit. As your tutor observed this morning, *Agrippa*, in all his structures, constantly endeavoured to hide himself, under the names of his friends and benefactors; and to turn on *them* all the commendation and praise.

BUT *this modesty* also has happily failed of it's intended effect. *Agrippa's* name is, and will for ever be, most renowned for these works of goodness. Some of his works themselves seem to have met with peculiar favour and mercy, from the rough hand of time. You observed this morning, that great part of the city is still supplied by his aqueduct. Is it not also something remarkable, that this his Pantheon, on the portico of which he was obliged, by *Augustus*, unwillingly to inscribe his name, should still subsist; far more entire and perfect, than any other of all the pompous fabrics, with which this stately city was ever decorated?

BUT, if you please, we will now step into the portico: You seem tired of *sitting* in this recess: and we can walk about there more at liberty, than we can in the church.

UNDER

UNDER the portico of the *Pantheon* are to this day remaining two great niches: in one of which stood anciently the *colossal* statue of *Augustus*; in the other, that of *Agrippa*.

IF you please, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, leading his friends to the niche on the left hand, we may *here not improperly* consider some other parts of *Agrippa's* conduct: those I mean, which relate to *Augustus*.

As *Augustus* lived in the mixed character of a *roman* citizen, and of a *roman* emperor, so the behaviour of *Agrippa* to him was proportionately composed of the offices, both of a *friend*, and of a *minister*.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the first of these points of view, we shall find his conduct, according to *Dion Cassius's* description, to be one of the most perfect patterns of affectionate *friendship*.

PERMIT me to make a distinction here. I commend not *Agrippa's* friendship to *Octavius*, but to *Augustus*. It was no praise to be the friend of the *bloody triumvir*: but it is a great honour to have been so to the *wise* and *mild emperor*.

CAPABLE as *Agrippa* was to have filled the principal place, he modestly and wisely chose the second. In that rank he continued to cultivate the favour of *Augustus*, without meanness, and without envy. Indeed, their constant friendship confers on each of them equal honour. For it was without distrust or suspicion, that *Augustus* exalted *Agrippa* to the chief honours of the state: it was with proper generosity, that *Augustus* rewarded his merit; making him his colleague in the government, and his intended successor in the empire. It was with lasting gratitude,—how noble a virtue in princes! that on the death of *Agrippa*, *Augustus* spoke himself the funeral panegyric; placed the urn in his own sepulchre; and continued, ever afterwards, highly to honour his memory.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the *other* point of view, we shall find his behaviour that of a most wise and virtuous *minister of state*.

AGRIPPA aided his sovereign with the best counsels: and attributed to *Augustus*, not to *himself*, all the honour arising from them.

AGRIPPA was not less beloved by the people, than by the prince.

HE

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HE acquired this public favour by the best means; without ostentation; without any ambitious design.

HE fought it with no other intention, than that of strengthening and establishing by it the authority of his prince.

ON the other hand, he never made any other use of favour with his sovereign, than that of employing it as an instrument for procuring the greatest benefit and most real happiness to the people.

MY dear friends, with what philanthropic and patriotic ardour ought we to join our wishes, that *Great Britain*, in the present and in future centuries, may be often under the guidance of *such a* prime minister; the support of the throne,—the blessing of the nation!

You were just now speaking of *France*, continued the young politician, addressing himself to his noble companion: I have been thinking, whether or no the illustrious pair, whose statues once adorned these niches, might not be compared, in *some* respects, to that honest prime minister, the duke of *Sully*, and his friend, fellow-soldier, and sovereign, *Henry the Great*; in *others*, to car-

dinal *Amboise*, and that father of his people, *Louis* the Twelfth. You may remember what *Mezerai* says of the cardinal. *Ce ministre fut justement aimé de la France, & de son maître: parce qu'il les aimoit tous les deux également.*

I WISH, said *Crito*, that at your leisure you would inform me of some particulars in the life of cardinal *Amboise*. I remember, when in *Normandy*, my going to see his grand mausoleum in the cathedral at *Rouen*; but I am very little acquainted with his character. In general, I know, it is highly, and I suppose justly, celebrated: yet, if I be not mistaken, there is reason to wish, that he had been less concerned with the negotiations of *Italy*, and more occupied with the religious business of his diocess. These were the sentiments that passed through my mind, while I stood leaning on the rails of that altar, which adjoins to his mausoleum.

BUT let me not at present draw off the thoughts of the company from your noble and just panegyric on *Agrippa*.

I AM deeply convinced, replied the worthy youth, that my abilities are very inadequate to the task. It is perhaps a very ridiculous vanity in me, at the age of one or two and twenty, to be
talking

talking of *Agrippa's* ministerial merit. I shall have reason to be happy, if I may be able to think properly on the subject twenty years hence. But surely I ought to thank *you* for your condescension, who have been so patiently listening to me; though what I have had to say, deserves to be considered in no better light, than that of a school-boy's declamation.

OFTEN did I wish, last week, for the abilities of some of my father's parliamentary friends, while I was reading, and endeavouring to understand, a long train of argument discussed by *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*; I mean, on *that* important debate in the *roman* cabinet-council, which was to determine whether *Augustus* should retain, or resign, the imperial power.

IN this debate *Agrippa*, you know, according to his usual magnanimity and ardent sense of that glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, strongly supported the proposal, which seemed the most generous. He advised *Augustus* gradually, and prudently, to resign the supreme authority, into the hands of it's ancient owners, the senate and people of *Rome*. He enforced this advice, so directly against his own private interests, with all the spirit of a *roman*, zealous for the name of liberty; and with all the sincerity of

a true friend, anxious for the repose, prosperity, and happiness of *Augustus*.

MÆCENAS, on the other hand, elegantly, and with great eloquence, displayed the true condition of the *roman* state. It had long since lost, he said, and was now become *incapable* of enjoying, the *real* blessings of liberty. Its provinces groaned under various successive oppressors: its capital was filled with sedition and corruption, confusion and anarchy. All the parts of its great and populous empire were ravaged with bloody and endless civil wars. The ship of the state, crowded with a mutinous and wicked crew, without a rudder, without ballast, was tossed on a boisterous sea by perpetual storms:—storms, from the rage and wild fury of which a settled and moderate monarchy alone could open to her a secure refuge, and a quiet haven.

IN the name of his country, in the name of mankind, *Mæcenas* then conjured *Augustus* to retain the sovereignty: to retain it from the principle, not of ambition, but of public spirit; to support what was now become the real interest of *Rome* by his wise and mild government: and to protect, from the return of the most dreadful calamities, that large part of the human race, which was subject to her dominion.

O MY

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O MY dear countrymen, as an *englishman* I hope, that I shall always continue to abominate the idea of the extinction of national liberty: yet, let me own, that if I had lived under *Augustus's* reign, I should have been thankful that the times of anarchy were passed.

Ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκα, καὶ τῆς πόλεως, πείσθωμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ σοι διδοῦσιν· καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὕτη ἐχώμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνεπαύσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιήται.

To the truth and force of these arguments *Agrippa* submitted. He then, immediately on the determination of this grand debate, began to contrive how he might, by the most indefatigable application, render the present form of government as beneficial to the public as possible.

BUT let me not trouble you with a repetition of *Agrippa's* good actions. Let me rather hasten to close this declamation, And in what manner can I better conclude it, than with the words of *Dion Cassius*?

Ἀγρίππας, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνδρωπῶν, διαφανῶς ἀρίστος.

THE conversation now turned to other topics. The portico of the *Pantheon* is supported by sixteen columns; which are four feet and a half in diameter, and nine and thirty feet in height, without measuring either the capital or the base.

THE young nobleman observed to the company, that each of these lofty pillars was formed out of *one single block of egyptian granite*.

ALL architects agree, said he, that this portico was *not* built at the same time with the temple, but added to it afterwards. Perhaps the temple might be built by *Agrippa*, before the battle of *Actium*; and the portico added soon after the conquest of *Egypt*. Perhaps these stately columns were *then* brought from *Alexandria*. Their materials certainly are *egyptian*. They were probably worked by some *greek* artists resident in that country.

IN relation indeed to many of the embellishments, which *Italy* received under the reign of *Augustus*, and the ministry of *Agrippa*, it may be thought, and possibly with reason, that they were in a great measure owing to the circumstance of
Egypt's

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Egypt's being at that time united to the roman empire.

HISTORY informs us, that when *Augustus* landed at *Alexandria*, he was struck with the remarkable beauty and splendour of that city; and expressed great veneration for it's founder. It was then, in all probability, that he conceived the noble design of embellishing *Rome* after a similar manner; that is, of making *Rome* in some respects a second *Alexandria*.

It is observable in regard to *Agrippa*, that this portico is supported by pillars, not unworthy to have made part of the most pompous colonnades in the palace of *Cleopatra*. It is remarkable also, that his great subterranean reservoir of water at *Miseno*, which to this day, it is said, subsists intire, and is called the *Piscina mirabilis*, is exactly of the same kind with those, which, according to modern travellers, are still remaining at *Alexandria*.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But the ancient sovereigns of *Memphis*, and of *Thebes*, as well as the founder and other more modern princes of *Alexandria*, were authors of several works of national utility, and stupendous magnificence; which
seem

seem to have caught the attention, and excited the admiration of *Augustus*.

WHILE *Augustus* was in *Egypt*, he began to employ his foldiers in cleansing and repairing the old canals, and in cutting new ones. Most of the ancient canals were the work of the *kings of Thebes and Memphis*.

AUGUSTUS, on his return to *Italy*, imitated, as you observe, in this country, the grandeur of *Egypt*. But it was the grandeur, not of the *Ptolemies* only, but also of *Menes* and *Osymanduas*. Witness his mausoleum, his *Palatine* library, his temples, and other public structures.

AUGUSTUS likewise adorned *Rome* with the obelisks, those most noble specimens of the *primeval* wealth and arts of *Egypt*.

SEVERAL of the *roman* emperors followed *Augustus's* example. They imported so many obelisks, granite columns, and statues, as almost to metamorphose *Rome* into an *egyptian* city.

ON *wednesday* morning I passed some hours in turning over *Pocock's* and *Norden's* descriptions of *Egypt*. I afterwards walked to the *Villa Negroni*, and sat down on that hillock, which is adorned with

with the colossal statue of *Rome*, in the character of *Minerva*. Several aged cypresses encircle that mount. I sat down, and viewed from between the cypresses in solemn prospect the desolated state of the *Viminal* and *Esquiline* hills. At a distance on my left I saw a great obelisk rising among the vineyards, near the *Lateran* cathedral. By the gate of the *Negroni* garden I saw another *egyptian* obelisk, which once stood by the mausoleum of *Augustus*, but is now placed before the northern front of *Santa Maria Maggiore*. These objects inclined me then to imagine myself in the neighbourhood of some ruined cities in *Thebais*; *Coptos*, for instance, or *Tentyra*, or *Syene*.

BUT, if a prospect of part of *Rome*, even at this time, bear a kind of *egyptian* air; how much greater must the similitude have been, in those ages, when every street in *Rome* contained something that was *egyptian*?

THAT, replied the young nobleman, is still in some degree the case. The only difference seems to be this: Under the *roman* emperors, those *egyptian* monuments, which adorned the streets of *Rome*, were as entire, as when they stood on the banks of the *Nile*; but at present, many of them are broken or buried.

WHAT

WHAT numbers, for example, of *egyptian* antiquities have been found under the *Dominican* convent, behind this *Pantheon*! In the piazza before it you see a small *egyptian* obelisk, fronting this portico. But let us not attend to little objects. There are at present, in this *Campo Marzo*, three great obelisks, which *Augustus* brought from that country. One of them is buried near the church of *St. Roch*: the second lies above ground close to the church of *St. Lorenzo*: the third is set up at the *Porta del Popolo*.

I AM very glad, said *Crito's* pupil, that the conversation has turned on this topic. I wish you would permit your coach, which I see is waiting for you in this piazza, to carry us now to the obelisk at the *Porta del Popolo*. I have a particular reason for desiring this favour.

THE young nobleman, and the rest of the company, readily agreed to the proposal.

IN their way from the *Pantheon* to the *Porta del Popolo* the conversation turned upon their intended travels to the *Levant*. They were talking of visiting *Alexandria*, *Grand Cairo*, and *Luxor*; when, the coach entering the piazza *del Popolo*, their attention was recalled to the magnificence of *Rome*.

THERE

* * *

THERE is not perhaps a city in the world, the entrance of which is designed with more magnificence, than that of *Rome*, by the *Porta del Popolo*. The gate is of the architecture of *Michael Angelo* and *Vignola*: it leads into a piazza, where the two famous *twin-churches* appear in front. Between and on each side of these churches are *three* straight level streets. The street on the right leads to the *Ripetta* of the *Tiber*. That in the middle is above a mile in length, runs through the midst of the *Campus Martius*, and is terminated by the buildings on the *Capitoline* hill. The street on the left leads to the grand stair-case in the *piazza di Spagna*: it was intended by *Sixtus Quintus* to have been joined to his long *Strada Felice*, and thus continued quite to the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*; forming one continued straight street, of more than two *english* miles and an half in length.

IN the midst of the *piazza del Popolo* rises an *egyptian* obelisk: with the view of which all these three streets nobly terminate.

THE shaft of this obelisk was originally one solid mass of granite. It is eighty-two feet in height,

height, and it's sides are richly covered with hieroglyphics.

It's granite basis is between twenty and thirty feet high. The inscription engraven on it is to this effect: *Imperator Augustus Cæsar, Egypto in potestatem populi Romani redactâ, Soli donum dedit.*

THE company now left their carriage and walked up to the obelisk.—While they were standing by the fountain, which flows from it's basis, Crito's pupil presented a sheet of paper to his tutor. I have been lately compiling an exercise, said he, to be submitted to your correction. It is drawn up in the manner of a vision. I hope you will excuse my folly in the attempt.

CRITO received the paper with thanks; cast his eye with pleasure over some part of it's contents; and then returning it to his pupil, desired him to read it to the company.

* * *

SOME few nights ago, said his worthy pupil, I dreamt that I was with three of my friends; from whom, indeed, the thoughts of my heart, whether sleeping or waking, are hardly ever divided; and that

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that we were standing together in this very place. On a sudden, we saw a female figure before us; such a figure as we have often observed in ancient sculptures or paintings, representing the *Dea Roma*. She was sitting by this fountain.

SHE appeared; but not, as in the times of *Virgil* and *Augustus*, enthroned like the tower-crowned *Cybele*;

———*Qualis Berecynthia mater,—*
Læta Deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
*Omnes cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes : **

She appeared, as in the *gothic* ages; prostrate on the ground; despoiled of all her ornaments; and weeping over her dying children, her *sciences* and her *arts*.

IN vain was she endeavouring, like the *Medicean Niobe*, to save from the destroyers some one of *these*, her numerous and beauteous offspring. Some one of these, she said, may be still a consolation to me, amidst the ruin of all my wealth and power.

—————ΙΝΕΤΕΥΩ ΤΕ ΣΕ
ΜΗ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΕΚΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΦΩΝ,

* *ÆNEID*, vi. 784.

Μηδε

Μη δε κλανητε· των τεθνηοτων αλις.

Ταυτη γεγηθα, καπιληδομαι κακων·

Ηδ' αντι πολλων εσι μοι παραψυχη*.

WE stood for some time lamenting over her; when we heard behind us a sound, as if of the string of a harp. I thought at first that it had been the harp of *Spencer*†; but, on turning round, we perceived to our great surprize, that the sound proceeded from within the shaft of the obelisk; the top of which seemed just at that time to be illuminated and gilt by the rising sun. This sound was succeeded by a voice, which seemed also to proceed from within the same obelisk; but which was far more clear and distinct, than what ever was feigned to issue from the statue of *Memnon*‡.

“LAMENT not,” it said, “the fall of *Rome*, that proud, but now humbled city: lament not her, though once the patroness of learning. Even *Thebes* is fallen, that far more glorious city; the seat of the great *Hermes*, and the original source of all science to mankind.

* See the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*.

† Vide *Spencer's* Poem on the Ruins of *Rome*, and of Time.

‡ The statue of *Memnon*, which is still remaining near *Thebes*, is fabulously said to have spoken every morning, as soon as the rays of the rising sun struck on it's head. *Strabo*, who pretends that he heard it, says, the sound was like that of the string of an harp.

“YET,

“ YET bewail not the fall either of *Thebes* or
“ *Rome*. Lift up your eyes to a view of the his-
“ tory of the whole world in general: and then
“ fall prostrate before HIM, whose awful name
“ was, in our language, concealed, under that of
“ the *divine and immortal OSIRIS*. Thankfully
“ adore His Providence; by which science has
“ not been always partially confined to one or two
“ countries, but has in various ages been appoint-
“ ed to visit and bless various regions: and thus,
“ perhaps, before the consummation of all things,
“ will have visited and illuminated in it's turn
“ every country on the face of the earth. Even
“ as that most glorious emblem of knowledge, the
“ Sun, to whom, and to philosophic literature,
“ this obelisk, *of which I am the Genius*, stands
“ consecrated, has, before the completion of it's
“ annual course, distributed an equal quantity of
“ light to the nations of every climate; from the
“ equator to both the poles.

“ O THAT it were permitted me to remove the
“ veil that covers the face of the great *Isis*; or
“ to explain to you certain fragments of the wis-
“ dom of *Egypt*!

“ BUT I, it is true, am the inferiour and junior
“ one of all the *genii*, who preside over the great
“ obelisks at *Rome*. Much more properly might

“ I refer you for such instruction to the *genius* of
 “ the *Lateran*, or *Rameffean* obelisk, which is
 “ coeval with the fall of *Troy*; or to the elder
 “ *genius* of the *Vatican*, the work of the son of
 “ *Sesoftris*: or, rather, to that obelisk, which is
 “ by far the most noble and ancient of us all; I
 “ mean my fellow-traveller, and now near neigh-
 “ bour in this *Campus Martius*, the obelisk of
 “ the great *Sesoftris* himself.

“ As for my own age, I cannot pretend to any
 “ great antiquity, being hardly more than twenty-
 “ four hundred years old; which is equal to be-
 “ tween seventy and eighty of your transitory ge-
 “ nerations. Yet, short as my experience hath
 “ been, my history may be instructive, at least
 “ to you, O ye children of yesterday!

“ I WAS born in the dregs of time: in the
 “ last age of the long *egyptian* history. If my
 “ memory fail me not, it was in the reign of
 “ *Psammiticus* or *Amasis*, nearly coeval with
 “ some of the first kings of *Rome*, that I came
 “ out of our common mother’s womb, the ancient
 “ cavern of the granite rock of *Syene*.

“ I WAS formed into my present shape by di-
 “ rection of the inhabitants of the neighbouring
 “ sacred island; the island of *Phila*, famous for
 “ the

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“superiour to any other country; which the sun
“ever saw.

Χαιρε, Χαιρε, Αιγυπτίε, η δρεψατα με*.

“ON my arrival at *Heliopolis*, I was visited
“and attentively viewed by the learned men of
“several foreign regions, who were then travel-
“ling in *Egypt*.

“THOSE travellers, who were come from the
“*Euphrates*, and were natives of the *East*, spoke
“as the *egyptians* did of the decline of literature
“in their countries. Whereas other strangers,
“from the *North and West*, three particularly I
“remember, whose names were *Thales*, *Solon*,
“and *Pythagoras*, joyfully expressed their hopes,
“that science was arising in *Greece* and it's colo-
“nies. It was at that time, indeed, that the
“*ionians* began to have access into *Egypt*; and
“thence derived their philosophy, astronomy,
“and geometry.

“THE same observation I heard in succeeding
“ages still more and more confirmed, by the con-
“versation of several *grecians*; who, during the

* Vide Epitaphium Isidis, apud Diodorum Siculum.

“*persian*

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“ *persian* government, visited the banks of the
“ *Nile*: particularly *Herodotus* and *Hippocrates*,
“ *Eudoxus* and *Plato*. How often did this last
“ great man walk round my basis, measure my
“ several proportions, and diligently study all the
“ philosophical inscriptions on my fides!

“ THE visits of these illustrious *grecians* were
“ my greatest comfort during the first three cen-
“ turies of my life; most part of which time was
“ passed under the *persian* government. How fre-
“ quently did I then wish for some *athenian*
“ *Εκκλινομένης*, or some vaster vessel, such as were
“ afterwards seen in *Egypt*, under the reigns of
“ the *grecian* kings, to remove me to their
“ country, then the most glorious seat of science;
“ and to place me in the grove of *Academus*; or
“ before the temple of the goddess of Wisdom, in
“ the *Acropolis*; or in some other sacred or philo-
“ sophic part of that famous city of the *egyptian*
“ *Cecrops*!

“ UNEXPECTEDLY, a great revolution hap-
“ pened, in learning as well as in empire. *Egypt*
“ was delivered from it's *persian* tyrants, the suc-
“ cessors of the accursed *Cambyfes*; and *Greece*
“ was torn in pieces by the successors of *Alexander*
“ the Great. All it's arts and sciences fled then

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“ for refuge, as it's gods did formerly, during
 “ the wars of the *Titans*,

“ *Cæruleum in gremium, latebrosa que flumina*
 “ *Nili* *.

“ *EGYPT*, their original parent, became now
 “ their protectress; and the *Ptolomies*, in patro-
 “ nizing learning, began to rival the glories of
 “ our ancient *thebaic* and *memphitic* sovereigns.

“ WITH what pleasure did I then frequently
 “ see, on the banks of the *Nile*, the poetical *Ara-*
 “ *tus*, *Theocritus*, and *Callimachus*; and those
 “ far more exalted characters, *Conon*, *Euclid*,
 “ and *Archimedes*! But above all, *Demetrius*
 “ *Phalereus*; the real author of the museum and
 “ library of *Alexandria*, which dignified *Egypt*
 “ almost as much as that of *Osymanduas*. Happy
 “ *Alexandria*! if thy princes had joined virtue
 “ to their love of science; and consequently had
 “ given stability to the happiness of themselves,
 “ and of their people.

“ WHY should I relate what I saw, during the
 “ next five hundred years? Carried away captive

• VIRG. *Æn.* viii. 713.

“ from

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“ from my native country, I had at least the satisfaction of entering *Rome* in the *Augustan* age, when all the sciences were here most flourishing.

“ I soon found however, that human greatness is equally short and transitory, in all parts of the earth: within some very few ages, knowledge declined, and power expired, *here* also.

“ BUT why should I repeat, what is the subject of much melancholy meditation to all travellers, who view here the mingled ruin of the arts of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Rome*; and sometimes drop a tear on the broken colossal statues of the *Tiber* and the *Nile*, which, not without reason, are joined together, both on the *Vatican* and *Capitoline* hills?

“ THE storms, which laid waste the *roman* empire, came first from the north. I remember the dreadful thunderings and blackness, with which they approached this country, and threatened its desolation! The land before them was then beautiful, beautiful as the land of *Egypt*: behind them, a howling wilderness!

“ SOON the tempest became general. *Alaric* burst from the north. Not forty years afterwards came *Genferic*, the revenger of old
T 4 “ *Carthage*,

“ *Carthage*, from the south. In the following
 “ century, *Totilas* made a fresh irruption from
 “ the north.

“ How different were those days of terroure and
 “ of darkness, from the calm and benign seasons
 “ which shone upon this city in the *Augustan*
 “ age!

“ IN those repeated hurricanes, or *typhons*, all
 “ we, the *egyptian* obelisks at *Rome*, excepting
 “ the fortunate *Vatican*, bowed our venerable
 “ heads to the dust: like a grove of tall *thebaic*
 “ palms, torn up by whirlwinds, driving from the
 “ deserts of *Lybia* or *Æthiopia*.

“ WE lay buried, and, with us, all the arts
 “ and sciences of the west, for near a thousand
 “ years.”

SOME confusion now rose in my ideas, according to the usual incoherency of dreams. The figure of the *Dea Roma* was vanished from our sight. The *genius* of the obelisk seemed, however, to be still continuing his history.

“ DURING the long thousand years of my interment, the chief remains of the learning of
 “ *Europe* were preserved in it's native spot, the
 “ dominions

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“ dominions of *Greece*. It was also some consolation to me in my grave to be informed, for the race of the *Genii* communicate and receive information by many methods inexplicable to human ears, that, under the *arabian caliphs*, the learning of *Asia* and of *Africa* was then reviving in it's native seats; the banks of the *Euphrates*, and of my beloved *Nile*.

“ BUT the violence of the *turkish* arms drove them all again westward.

“ ON the revival of arts and sciences in the west, many of the *egyptian* obelisks at *Rome*, arose again from the dust, as if become the *talismans* of science for renovated *Italy*.

“ WE were then re-placed by *Sixtus Quintus*. At that time I thought the *Augustan* age was in some measure returned hither. I saw that pope imitate *Agrippa* in the useful work of his fountains and aqueducts, and in the noble structure of the dome of *St. Peter's*, built nearly with the same dimensions as those of the *Pantheon*. I saw him imitate *Augustus*, in adorning this city with various embellishments; and in forming that great repository of literature at the *Vatican*, which is almost as famous in modern times,

“ as

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“ as were the *Palatine* or *Alexandrian* in former
“ ages.

“ BUT now again I begin to hear of the de-
“ cline of science in *Italy*. Science is said to be
“ far more flourishing on the other side of the
“ *Alps*, in some of your western regions of
“ *Europe*: nay, it is said to be likely to travel
“ still further westward; even to the distant
“ countries beyond the *Atlantic* ocean, which
“ I suppose are the same with those famous great
“ islands, about which I remember to have heard
“ the priests of *Sais* discoursing with *Plato*.

“ PERHAPS, by some future generation, I shall
“ be removed from my present basis; and em-
“ barked on a voyage to the shores of that western
“ world; to adorn the streets of some stately
“ city, the foundations of which are not yet laid.

“ SOME of the descendants of your great
“ grand-children may perhaps see me there. But
“ your eyes, O ye present youthful generation,
“ will soon be closed. Your bones, with the
“ coffins which shall contain them, will be soon
“ reduced to dust. Oh, how short do the days
“ of man appear to me! The time of your ex-
“ istence is as nothing.”——

THE

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THE *genius* of the obelisk proceeded to some further reflections on the brevity of human life. But I am not able properly to repeat them to the company. From *my* lips they would sound merely like common-place reflections. As spoken by the *obelisk*, you may imagine they had a much more powerful effect.

CRITO'S pupil now rolled up his paper; and to prevent any compliments from his friends, who he knew would be *partial* in his favour, proposed to step into the carriage again.

THE young nobleman told the coachman to drive to the church of *St. Lorenzo*.

IN their way to that part of the *Campus Martius*, the eldest of the young gentlemen conversed much with his noble friend, on the successive rise and fall of many seats of science, *Thebes*, *Memphis*, *Alexandria*, *Babylon*, *Athens*, and *Rome*: not without bestowing on his own country the fond, patriotic wish, *Esto perpetua!* Words worthy to be the dying speech of every good man.

HE was repeating them with an emphatic warmth, when the coach stopped. *Crito* then led the company into a small back area, where they saw that famous obelisk, to which, as to an eternal

nal monument, the great *Sesostris*, in some measure, consigned the history of his glory; inscribing upon it the extent of his empire, and the number of his tributary nations. They saw it, overturned; broken in several fragments; half covered with filth and rubbish; *omni inquinatum contumelia**; and proportionately, in as low a state of ruin and humiliation, as the glory of it's founder was ever exalted: that proud and insolent man, who so arrogantly styled himself *king of kings*, and *lord of lords*!

Two of it's sides are intirely maimed and obliterated by fire; injuries repeatedly received in the times of *Cambyfes*, *Totilas*, and *Robert of Normandy*. On the other two sides, and on it's top, are several inscriptions and figures, which may justly be thought the most ancient sculptures now extant in the whole world†. They are of such excellent workmanship, as plainly to demonstrate, that the *greek* and *roman* art of sculpture was founded on the primeval arts of *Egypt*. These

* PHÆDR. I. ii. 21.

† The extreme antiquity of this obelisk will appear to the reader in a stronger light, when he recollects, that it was hewn into it's present shape before any of the pyramids were built. From *Pliny's* account, this obelisk was the work of *Sesostris*: and according to all the *greek* historians, *Sesostris* was prior in antiquity to *Cheops*, *Cephren*, or any of the builders of the pyramids.

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figures and inscriptions have been, for many centuries past, utterly unintelligible.

THE same fate attends all the other monuments in *Upper Egypt*. For though their materials and fabric seem capable of an eternal duration, yet owing to this defect, they have not been able to preserve with *certainly* even the *names* of most of their founders.—These were the reflections of the young nobleman.

PERHAPS, added he, the time may come, when the *latin* inscription, which *Augustus* has engraved on the basis, and which seems as fresh as if the sculptor had finished it but last week, will be found as unintelligible as these hieroglyphic characters*.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these sentiments, *Crito* stood for some time in silence, fixing his eyes on the vast ruins of the shaft of the obelisk.

Is not this, said he, a strong emblem of the vanity of the greatest human grandeur? Such is become the monument and memorial of the proudest

* This inscription is to the same effect as that on the basis of the obelisk at *Porta del Popolo*, mentioned in p. 270, of this volume.

of kings. How awful is this spectacle! and how instructive, not only to the philosophic moralist, but even to the most humble and mortified saint!

*Oh, sons of earth! attempt ye still to rise
By mountains pil'd on mountains to the skies?
Heav'n still, with laughter, the vain toil surveys,
And buries madmen in the heaps they raise*.*

BUT what,—continued he, after another short but solemn pause,—what has become of the *empire of Egypt* itself?

RUINED, like this *obelisk*; and fallen, never to rise again.

AN example for ever to mankind, that no excellence of situation, for *Egypt* was almost as well situate as any *island*; no degree of populousness or power, of wealth or science, is able to secure a nation from ruin and perpetual servitude; whenever the people, as was the case in the decline of *Egypt*, shall for the love of luxury quit the love of virtue; whenever it's governors shall think wisdom to be consistent with self-interest and pride: thus despising GOD, and injuring mankind; instead of labouring with joy to be the be-

* POPE's *Essay on Man*. ep. iv.

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nefactors of their fellow-creatures, and the dutiful servants of their great and common CREATOR.

SAYING this, *Crito* looked with his usual kindness on his pupil, and repeated to him the following most poetic lines of the *hebrew* prophet; leaving him to judge, which of the *great modern* cities of the world might most suitably bear their application.

*Art thou better than the populous city of Ammon?
She that was seated among the waters?
The river of Egypt was her defence:
The sea was her dominion and riches.
Lybia and Africa were her helpers:
Æthiopia and Egypt were her infinite strength.
Yet even she went into captivity:
Even she was destroyed utterly*.*

O MY dear pupil, though I am no prophet, let me contemplate, in imagination, the *probable* history of future ages.

Two thousand years hence, some foreigners will perhaps be going up the *Thames*, in search of antiquities; in the same manner as *Norden* lately went up the *Nile*.

* See NAHUM, iii. 8—10.

SAILING by the ruins of *Greenwich*, they will look to *Flamstead's* hill; they will recollect the name of *Newton*, and of other ancient *english* astronomers: *How is this island degenerated!* they will perhaps add. *It has not at present one school of mathematics, or of natural philosophy, in any of it's provinces.*

ROWING then along the wide-spread desolation of *London**, they will pass through some arches of it's broken bridges, standing in the middle of the stream. On the grassy shore, they will view, with admiration, the still remaining portico of *St. Paul's*, and perhaps one of the towers of *Westminster Abbey*. They will land there; and be shown the pool of water, where *Westminster Hall*, and the *Parliament Houses* stood. They will inquire in vain for *St. James's* palace. On searching for it in a wrong place, they will accidentally discover the portico of *St. Martin's*, then again *in the Fields*: they will find it's columns, half buried in the earth.

IF they continue their voyage up the *Thames*, they will pass close by the once elegant situation of the brick palace at *Hampton-Court*, without

* *Londinium*,—*copia negotiatorum, et comœtuum, maximè celebre.* See *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiv. c. 33.

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knowing it. Advanced some leagues farther, they will see from their boat the stately remains of *Windsor* castle: but perhaps they will not venture to land, for fear of falling into the hands of the wild inhabitants of the neighbouring woods. The same fear will damp their desire, and design, of venturing so far as to the much-celebrated, but little known, ruins of *Oxford*.

AND do you really think, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the *english* can ever grow as wild as the *arabs*, or the *nubians*?

It is by no means impossible, replied *Crito*. Length of time, and a variety of events, may gradually produce such a change. The *english* nation, two thousand years hence, may very possibly be in the same state of savage barbarism, in which it is said to *have been* two thousand years ago:

Rursus & in veterem fato revoluta figuram.*

BUT let us think of retiring to our lodgings. The sun is set, and the dangerous evening damps of this country begin to make themselves felt.

* VIRGIL, *Æn.* vi. 449.

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Let us take care, what care we can, of these
our frail bodies. Notwithstanding all our care,
they will soon be dissolved, as you my dear pupil,
have reminded us, into their original dust.

C H A P. III.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*Cedes coemptis saltibus ; & domo,
Villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,*

Cedes, & extructis in altum

Divitiis potietur hæres.

Divesne prisco natus ab Inachø

Nil interest, an pauper, & infimà

De gente sub dio morêris,

Victima nil miserantis Orci.

Omnes eodem cogimur ; omnium

Versatur urna ; seriùs ocyùs

Sors exitura.

HORAT. *Carm.* lib ii. od. 3.

THE mausoleum of *Augustus* was built in the *Campus Martius*; fronting, though at some distance, the *Pantheon* of *Agrippa*. It was of a circular shape, and nearly of the same size with that noble temple.

THE walls, though not the roof, of this mausoleum are still remaining. The circular space

within the walls is one hundred and seventy feet in diameter, and at present forms a garden, filled with orange trees and other fragrant evergreens.

IN this garden *Crito* was sitting with his pupil on the morning of *June 19th*, and attending to him as he read the above lines of *Horace*; when, seeing the two other young gentlemen enter the gate, he rose to meet them.

BEFORE the company began their usual morning lecture, they took several turns together, around and across the garden.

AFTER some agreeable talk on various subjects, *Crito's* pupil led their attention to the beauty of the flowers and shrubs among which they were walking.—These, said he, are at present the only ornaments remaining of this imperial mausoleum. Perhaps some of these plants may be the descendants of those, which flourished here in the time of *Strabo**. Such cheerfully-looking plants and flowers seem, indeed, no improper embellishments for the mansions of death.

I HAVE often thought, while walking in the neat church-yard belonging to my father's village,

* Αξιολογώτατον το Μαυσολειον παλαιμενον, επι κρητιδ^ω λευκολιζ^ε πρ^ως τ^η ποταμ^ω χωμα, αχρι κορυφ^{ης} τοις αιιδεσι τ^ων δειδρων κατ^η ηρ^ωφ^ης. . . . Lib. v. p. 236.

that

that it is right to take such methods of abating the gloominess of the grave, and of softening it's natural horrors.

THESE fragrant myrtles, these shining-leaved laurels, may be considered, as if planted here on purpose to stand *emblems of the memory of the departed*. They may be considered also, as representing the *immortality* of the soul.

I COULD wish, my dear pupil, replied *Crito*, that among your poetic works at *Rome*, you would favour me with an ode to *Euthanasia*; or, if you have a mind to express that idea by another phrase, the *Genius* good death.

WITH regard to mortality in general, *Horace* will suggest to you several elegant reflections; though I do not suppose, you will choose to follow his train of thought, in the inferences which he usually draws from those reflections.

YOU may find other classical assistance. *Virgil* sometimes considered death in a much better light than *Horace*: for, notwithstanding *Horace's* many social virtues, *Virgil* was, certainly, a much better man. You will recollect, I am sure, with pleasure, those lines of the fourth *Æneid*, in which

Iris is described, as engaged in the benign and gracious office of the genius of death.

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficilesque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
Quæ luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus.—
Ergo Iris, croceis per cælum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & suprâ caput astitit: Hunc ego Diti
Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo*.*

You will wish, for the sake of greater propriety in this passage, that *Dido's* life had been more virtuous, and her death in particular much more holy. In such a case, this beautiful description of *Iris* would have answered your ideas of a guardian angel, descending from heaven, to release a soul struggling in the last agonies of mortality, and to disengage her from the incumbrances of dust.

INDEED, when you contemplate those consolations and overflowing joys, that make the hour of death most sweet to *good* men; you will disdain, I should apprehend, to draw up your ode in the mean style of heathen poetry. You will much more gladly follow the soaring ideas of some christian writers: you will dedicate your ode,

* *ÆNEID* iv. 693.

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not to the *Genius*, but to the *Angel of good death*.

You will paint that angel descending, in radiant splendour, to visit the couch of the expiring faint. You will place around that couch Charity, Hope, and true Faith, with her victorious cross:

—— *ea sola voluptas,*
Solamenque mali.

ÆNEID. iii. 660.

You will perhaps attempt to describe the departing spirit, as just freed from the flesh, and following this blessed company in their re-ascent to heaven. You may form some happy and pious ideas, fitted for the purpose, from that picture, which our noble young friend lately taught us to admire in the *Capitoline gallery*; the *Anima Beata of Guido**.

I SHOULD be very glad, replied the modest youth, to obey your commands. But the subject

* *Le dessin de la figure est de la plus grande correction. Sur son visage brille cette sérénité, cette douce satisfaction, que l'on doit éprouver aux approches d'un bonheur inaltérable.—C'est une des compositions les plus sçavantes du Guide—l'action en est très-simple, & en même tems très-poétique.*

Abbe Richard, vol. vi. p. 27.

is too good, and too great. I cannot venture upon it. Such an ode would be a very proper conclusion and crown to the labours of a pious gray-headed poet; whose long life has been spent in following the dictates of true faith and charity, and in looking forward to it's end with devout hope. But I am neither worthy nor capable of the grand employment. It is much better to be silent, than to talk of so important a topic in a trifling and improper manner, as I certainly should.

THE company now sat down near a spreading orange-tree. They admired it's beauty. The eldest of the young gentlemen began to make a comparison between this *plant*, the branches of which were loaded at once with the productions of *all* the seasons in the year, buds, flowers, and fruit; and this mausoleum, which has the honour of containing the remains of many worthies, who died young, middled-aged, and old, in all the various seasons of human life.

HAPPY is it for you, my dear young friends, replied *Crito*, that there are none of these productions, whether on the tree, or gathered, sweeter than the *bud*. *Marcellus's* virtue, both in life and death, was full as sweet and lovely as even that of *Agrippa* himself.

MARCELLUS.

* * *

MARCELLUS.

*Nor love thy life, nor hate : But what thou liv'st,
Live well : How long or short, permit to heav'n.*

MILTON, *P. L.* b. xi. l. 553.

MARCELLUS, nephew and son-in-law of *Augustus*, and his declared successor in the imperial throne of *Rome*, was suddenly removed by death, from all this possession and prospect of grandeur. He was cropped in the very flower of his youth, when scarce twenty years of age.

YET had he made so good an use of his time, as to have then already gained the affection and esteem of mankind, to a very considerable degree.

FOR, during the age of *Augustus*, which was certainly in some respects a very splendid epoch of the *roman* history, although several truly great characters appeared ; of whom some, and in particular, *Agrippa*, may more justly demand our admiration ; yet none of them has been regarded, either in that or in succeeding times, with such
general

general love, as the memory of this amiable young man.

AMOR ERAT POPULI ROMANI.

IN a course of reflection upon the amiable character and immature fate of *Marcellus*, I have often, said the young nobleman, recollected prince *Henry*, elder brother of *Charles the First*.—Excuse the intrusion, which yourself occasioned: pray proceed.

IN meditating on the character of *Marcellus*, replied *Crito*, I also have often recollected some modern characters: particularly one of a young nobleman of my acquaintance. May his life be much longer than that of *Marcellus*: but may he continue to resemble him in every other particular!

MARCELLUS'S person was naturally very beautiful: it was improved in gracefulness as well as strength, by his perfection in all youthful exercises: but his mind was still more great and noble. *Animo alacer erat: ingenio potens.*

THESE qualifications however, whether of *body* or of *understanding*, were but trifling, in comparison

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parison with those of his heart. *Adolescens patiens erat laboris; voluptatibus alienus: frugalitatis & continentiae in illis, aut annis, aut opibus, non mediocriter admirandus.*

ALL his actions were full of wisdom, of courage, of modesty, of affability, of kindness.

THERE was nothing, indeed, kind or good, which the subjects of *Augustus* did not hope, from the government of *Marcellus*. *Fortunæ erat, in quam alebatur, capax.*

No wonder, that his bier was followed by such general lamentations.

Mater Octavia nullum finem, per omne vitæ suæ tempus, flendi gemendique fecit. Lugubrem vestem nunquam deposuit. Intenta in unam rem (memoriam scilicet carissimi filii) & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit, qualis in funere.

BUT *Augustus* suffered by this great loss in a double capacity; as a relation, and as a roman.

In Marcellum enim Augustus incumbere ceperat; in Marcellum onus imperii reclinare. Laturus enim erat Marcellus quantumcunque illi avunculus imponere, & ut ita dicam, inædificare voluisset.

*voluisset. Bene enim legerat nulli cissura ponderi
fundamenta.*

THIS eulogium was drawn by the pen of *Seneca**, many years after the death of *Marcellus*; at a time, when no temptation could possibly exist, for any court-flattery to his memory. It greatly confirms the truth of many passages, which we find in the poets of the *Augustan age*, relative to *Marcellus's* merit.

I REMEMBER several of the kind in the works of *Horace*. Perhaps there may be some also in *Ovid*. *Virgil*, as my pupil thinks, seems to have shadowed out the amiable character of *Marcellus*, under those of *Pallas* and *Euryalus*. However that may be, he certainly introduces a very striking and noble panegyric on his memory, in those famous verses of the sixth *Æneid*. They seem, indeed, to have breathed no less the spirit of sincere grief, than of the sweetest poetry.

THE deep sorrow of *Augustus* seems justly depicted by the language of *Anchises*, in the lines that follow:

————— *Manibus date lilia plenis:
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis*

* *Consol. ad Martiam.*

His

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*His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere* *.

AUGUSTUS honoured Marcellus's memory with the most solemn funeral rites. He himself spoke the funeral oration; *non quidem solitâ suâ promptâ ac profluenti eloquentiâ* †; for, doubtless, it was interrupted by frequent sighs and groans, rising no less from the surrounding multitude, than from the orator's own breast.

AUGUSTUS then, with his own hands, placed the urn in *this* mausoleum. He had erected this beautiful structure for the reception of the urns of his family, and friends. He in particular had declared, that he would not, even after his death, be separated from those two persons, *Agrippa* and *Marcellus*, whom in his life-time he had so highly esteemed, and so tenderly loved ‡.

* * *

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now fixed his eyes on the ground, and seemed, for a while, absorpt in a train of recollection.

* *ÆNEID* vi. v. 883.

† *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xiii. c. 3.

‡ See *Dio.* p. 541.

PARDON me, said he, for interrupting you, by the introduction of a topic, in some measure foreign to your present discourse. *Voltaire*, in that part of his *Henriade*, where he describes the spirit of *St. Lewis* showing to *Henry the Fourth* the yet unborn heroes and worthies of the french nation, has closely imitated the passage you have quoted from *Virgil*, and very properly applied it to that amiable young prince, the duke of *Burgundy*.

*Quel est ce jeune prince, en qui la majesté
Sur son visage aimable éclate sans fierté?
D'un œil d'indifference il regarde le trône.
Ciel ! quelle nuit soudaine à mes yeux l'environne !
La Mort autour de lui vole sans s'arrêter :
Il tombe aux pieds du trône, étant prêt d'y monter.
O mon fils ! des françois vous voyez le plus juste :
Les cieux le formeront de votre sang auguste.
Grand Dieu ! ne faites-vous que montrer aux hu-
mains*

*Cette fleur passagere, ouvrage de vos mains ?
Hélas ! que n'eût point fait cette âme vertueuse ?
La France, sous son regne, eût été trop heureuse.
Il eût entretenu l'abondance & la paix :
Mon fils ! Il eut compté ses jours par ses bienfaits.
Il eût aimé son peuple. O jours remplis d'alarmes !
O combien les françois vont repandre de larmes,
Quand*

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*Quand sous la même tombe ils verront réunis
Et l'époux & la femme, & la mere & le fils*!*

WHILST I was at *Paris* I took frequent morning airings in my chaise, towards *Vincennes* and *St. Denis*: and in those excursions read over these lines of *Voltaire* so often, as to imprint them thoroughly on my memory.

LOUIS le Grand is said to have been, in several respects, a second *Augustus*. They were both examples, indeed, of the vanity and weakness of the greatest human grandeur. *Louis* strongly resembled *Augustus* in his family misfortunes, at that melancholy time especially, when so many funeral cars closely followed each other along the avenue to *St. Denis*; bearing the beloved duke of *Burgundy*, and many others of the royal family.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to read to you, from my paper of notes, some elegant verses of *Albinovanus*, relative to these misfortunes of *Augustus*. Far am I from recommending his poem in general to your perusal, for the flattery of some parts of it is even impious, but only some extracts from it. They seem to have been composed by *Albinovanus*, on this very spot, where we are now conversing.

* LA HENRIADE, Chant vii. v. 399. &c.

Condidit

304 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book IV.

*Condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulchro,
 Et cepit generos jam locus iste duos.
 Vix posito Agrippâ tumuli bene janua clausa est,
 Perficit officium funeris ecce soror.
 Ecce ter ante datis jactura novissima Drusus.
 A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.
 Claudite jam, Parcæ, nimum referata sepulchra!
 Claudite! plus justo jam domus ista patet.*

CRITO'S pupil now rose from his seat, and took a short turn by himself in the garden.

THE company followed him. How eagerly, my dear friends, said he have we heretofore surveyed together the sepulchres of our *english* princes, in *Westminster Abbey*! How silently have we stood by the monument of *Edward's* royal consort; or walked over the dust of that excellent queen *Matilda*, who lies near *Edward* the Confessor's tomb; though without any grave-stone to mark the place! Surely not less pleasing is the melancholy, which now overspreads the mind, while thus we are recollecting the amiable characters of several persons *here* interred: I mean those eminently virtuous princes, whose names you just now mentioned; and who sleep under the orange-trees, and beds of flowers, among which we are now walking. Let us not survey this garden with a careless eye, or tread
 it

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it inattentively. Who knows, but under these dew-besprinkled violets, the good *Ostavia* may be reposing? if so,

*Gentle lady, may thy grave
Peace and honour ever have!*

You remember, my dear friend, the description of that beautiful myrtle, which is said to have flourished from the tomb of *Aristonous**: perhaps, in some of *these* myrtles, the ashes of *Agrippa* may really vegetate.

Look again at that sweet half-opened rose, to which you were just now smelling without cropping it: may it not have fixed it's root in the urn of a *Drusus*, or a *Germanicus*?

CRITO'S pupil now took out of his pocket a small volume of *english* poems, and read to the company the following lines:

* See the charming adventures of *Aristonous*, which are generally printed at the end of those of *Telemachus*.

Une mirthe, d'une verdure & d'une odeur exquise, naquit au milieu du tombeau; & éleva sa tête touffue, pour couvrir les deux urnes de ses rameaux, & de son ombre. Chacun s'écria, qu' Aristonous, en recompense de sa vertu, avoit été changé par les Dieux en un arbre si beau. Sophronime prit soin de l'arroser lui-même, & de l'honorer comme une divinité. Cet arbre, loin de vieillir, se renouvelle de dix ans en dix ans; & les Dieux ont voulu faire voir par cette merveille, que la vertu, qui jette un si doux parfum dans la mémoire des hommes, ne meurt jamais.

306 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. *Book IV.*

*Perhaps, unknowing of the bloom it gives,
In yon fair scyon of Apollo's tree
The sacred dust of young Marcellus lives!
Pluck not the leaf: 'twere sacrilege to wound
Th' ideal memory of so sweet a shade.
In these sad seats an early grave he found,
And the first rites to gloomy Dis convey'd.
Oh, lost too soon! Yet why lament a fate,
By thousands envy'd, and by heav'n approv'd*?*

SUCH lamentations are indeed very improper; as I remember my parents mutually agreed, some years ago, when beginning to recover from their deep affliction, on the death of my younger brother. "Man," said my father, sitting near the good youth's picture, "Man, short sighted as he is at best, ought ever to adore with reverence and thankfulness, the wise and gracious disposals of Providence. We see, indeed, frequently removed from this world, in early youth, those persons, who seemed likely to do much good, and to enjoy great happiness amongst us. Yet, let us not complain. We are certain, that good persons are much happier in the other world than in this; and we may be confident, that God will never want instruments of his beneficence here

* *Unde scis an diutius illi vivere expedierit? An illi hæc morte consultum?* SENECA, ad Martiam.

below."

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below." In saying these words, my dear father kindly took me and my little sister in his arms.

CRITO now cast a look of affectionate tenderness on his pupil: How much more pleasing, said he, are your ideas, than those on which I was ruminating?

I WAS imagining, *that I saw Augustus* bear the urn of *Marcellus* into this mausoleum.

WITH what earnestness must *Augustus* then have secretly wished, that he had lived, and that he had died, like *Marcellus*! How deeply, in the bitterness of conscience, must he then have reflected on the great difference of his own youthful years, from those of his happy nephew?

THE extreme wickedness of *Augustus's* youth must always have been a very heavy burthen on his mind. It is true, there were some alleviations of this conscious weight: for it is allowed, that, during the last forty years of his life, he was diligent, and successful, in doing good.

SEVERAL political writers imagine, that the whole life of *Augustus* was ruled by one mean principle, the scheme of obtaining and securing to himself the sovereign authority: that the crimes

of his youth were perpetrated to obtain this power ; and that the good works of his later years were performed merely to secure himself in it. But an ecclesiastic can scarcely be of that opinion : he cannot think it possible, that any man, engaged in a long course of beneficence, though perhaps he might enter on that course not from the best motives, should be able to avoid being at length captivated by a *sincere* love of virtue, and converted to it from his *heart*.

WITH pleasure let us recollect some of the many instances of beneficence, with which the years of *Augustus's* manhood and old age were adorned.

HE encouraged *population*, that first work of a good government. *Necesse est enim, ut nascantur homines, priusquam felices fiant.*

HE was ambitious to support the general *peace* of mankind. *Janum quater clausit.*

HE wisely placed the glory of his government in works of beneficence. Through how many cities have we travelled, which were built by *Augustus* ! How often have we met with the remains of his other public structures ! Let us recollect what were our sentiments on this subject, when at

Treves

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Treves or *Augsbург*; when at *Autun* or *Turin*; and since our arrival in *Italy*, while travelling along the sea coast near *Rimini* and *Pesaro*.

IN these great works of national utility, *Augustus* seems to have imitated the generosity and public spirit of his noble friend and counsellor, *Agrippa*.

I REMEMBER, said the young nobleman, some of the reflections, with which you favoured us in visiting *Augustus's* bridge at *Narni*. You there compared *Augustus*, in those works, to a late emperor of *China*.

THAT *chinese* emperor, replied *Crito*, was in several respects a very worthy prince: he was a protector of the christians*. But let us at present confine ourselves to *Augustus*.

MUCH of the felicity enjoyed by mankind, in this part of the world, during the reign of *Augustus*, is doubtless to be attributed to his benefi-

* The emperor *Cambi*, who died in 1722, in his last testament congratulated himself on the vast sums he had expended during his reign in making new canals, new dykes, new roads, and other public works. In looking over his accounts he had found, to his great joy, that the whole sums he had expended on his own palace, did not amount to the hundredth part of what he had laid out in works of utility to his subjects.

Political Annals of abbé *St. Pierre*, 1725.

cent government. It conveyed many blessings to the inhabitants of this city, and of the country at large; and probably, also, to all the provinces and allies of the *roman* empire.

LET me with particular pleasure observe, that *Augustus* enacted several laws, tending to the *reformation of manners*: that he very diligently and mercifully himself administered *justice*: and that he was also very careful for the security of public *plenty*; according to that boasted maxim of *venetian* policy: *Giustizia sempre in palazzo, e pane in piazza.*

THAT *Augustus* greatly promoted *literature*, is perhaps, comparatively, but a *trifling* consideration. For as, in private life, it will be much more laudable for you, my dear pupil, to be daily employed in giving bread to the poor families of your neighbourhood, than to be amusing yourself in your library, by the prosecution of any learned or elegant composition; so, amidst the occupations of a prince, the support of public plenty is ten thousand times more useful, and more truly honourable, than the patronage of learning.

ON entering this garden about half an hour ago, said the young nobleman, I stopped for some moments to look at the antique statue of
Plenty,

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Plenty, with her *coruncopiæ*, which stands by the door. My political friend, who was with me, thought that statue very fortunately and properly placed at the entrance of *Augustus's* mausoleum.

I REMEMBER very well, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, the *venetian* proverb, which your good tutor mentions. I thought frequently of it during our voyage from *Venice* to *Pola*.

How pleasantly, replied *Crito's* pupil, did we pass our time at *Pola*! We sat down, I remember, between the four columns of the portico of that temple, which is inscribed *ROMÆ & Augusto Cæsari, Patri Patriæ*. You there employed an hour in perusing, not without tears of pleasure, the account given by *Suetonius* of the many testimonies of ardent affection, which *Augustus* received from his grateful people. The inhabitants of *Rome*, the busy multitudes which then swarmed in the cities of *Italy*, and over every part of her fruitful hills and plains, all united in the love of their sovereign. The other subjects of the *roman* empire, settled in the various parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, all joined their justly-merited thanks for his goodness, *in bene gerendâ, per terrarum orbem, republicâ*.

THE navigators of the *Mediterranean*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, *were not less sensible of the general happiness.* As the whole circuit of it's shores was then subject to *Rome*, and as the whole *roman* empire was then united in peace under *Augustus*, commerce consequently had in general no enemy to fear. The fleets stationed by *Augustus* at *Frejus*, *Miseno*, and *Ravenna*, were always ready to suppress any unforeseen troubles.

THE greatest branch of the *roman* commerce was that with *Egypt**. *Augustus* seems to have given peculiar attention to it's cultivation and improvement. I think *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus*, in the last year of his reign, visited the sea-coast at *Baiæ* and *Puteoli*. He went thither, perhaps, with some small expectation, that the waters might be of service to a constitution naturally weak; and then particularly enfeebled by a disorder, which, together with the weight of years, was sinking him to his grave. During his residence there, he must have found great amusement in viewing the *Lucrine* port, and the haven near *Miseno*, the works of his departed friend, *Agrippa*; works, in which indeed they were *both* engaged, during very troublesome times. But

* See the late edition of *Harris's* voyages, book i. chap. 2, sections 8, 9, 10.

while

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while *Augustus* was thus amusing himself, a large ship from *Alexandria* came into the harbour with full sails*.

THE crew, hearing that their emperor was then in that port, gladly seized this opportunity of expressing their loyalty and gratitude to him, under whose mild and wise government peace and commerce had long flourished. *Per illum se vivere: per illum navigare; libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.*

WITH what pleasure must *Augustus* have listened to those acclamations! With what sparkling eyes must he have seen the mariners hanging garlands of flowers on the prow, on the poop, on all the masts, and yard-arms of their vessel; while the smooth haven of *Baiæ* echoed to the sound of their harps and flutes! From the deck a cloud of incense arose to heaven; offered for the preservation of their sovereign's life, and for the long continuance of his benign reign.

PARDON me for troubling you with the repetition of this story. Indeed, whenever I recol-

* In relation to the appearance of the *alexandrian* ships, when entering the harbour of *Baiæ*, see *Seneca's* Epist. 77.

Gratus illarum (navium alexandrinarum) Campaniæ aspectus est; omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit, &c.

lest it, I am sensible of fresh pleasure. As an *englishman*, I find myself always peculiarly interested in the sentiments of the sea-faring part of mankind.

THE first time I read this story was about two years ago, when I was at *Margate*, in the isle of *Thanet*; attending my father, who was advised by his physicians to bathe there.

I REMEMBER I then heartily wished, that his majesty, our late good old king, *George II*, had been at that time desired by his physicians to visit the same place.

IF such had been the case, his majesty would perhaps have made use of that opportunity to visit the grand newly-erected pier, on the neighbouring shore of *Ramsgate*. He certainly would have taken frequent airings on the cliffs between *Margate* and the *North Foreland*; and surveyed from them the wide-extended mouth of his *Thames*. Perhaps some large fleet of *english* merchantmen might have then arrived from *Asia* or *America*. Hearing that their good old king was on that coast, they would have spread all their colours to the wind, sounded their trumpets, and fired their guns. The crews would have saluted their sovereign with repeated cheers. Cheerful indeed
had

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had been that sound: the applauses of a grateful people would have been far more cordial to his royal breast, than any medicinal prescription.

BUT let me not longer interrupt you, continued he, turning to *Crito*. You were speaking of the goodness of *Augustus*. I should be sorry, if I have hindered my friends from listening to any of your observations on so pleasing a topic.

THE topic is indeed very pleasing, replied *Crito*, after a short pause; yet I must add, that on fully considering the whole history of *Augustus*, there necessarily rises one reflection; which is far from being equally agreeable, though it seems highly important and instructive.

THAT part of *Augustus's* life, which is generally considered as it's *good* part, comprehends, as was just now observed, about forty years: a space of time equal to the whole rational and active life of the generality of mankind.

THE powers of *Augustus* for doing good far exceeded those of the greatest sovereigns in modern *Europe*.

By

By a course of wise beneficence, *so long* and *so powerfully* exerted, it is natural to imagine, that *Augustus* must have acquired a very splendid name; a real and solid kind of glory*.

YET, surely, *Augustus* ought never to have entertained any hopes, that the horrid crimes of his youth, however atoned for in the sight of heaven, could even by these means be totally effaced from the memory of men. Succeeding generations have looked, and will always look, on the history of his life, with hatred and detestation, though mixed indeed with admiration, and with pity.

THIS is a melancholy reflection. The same, alas! is the case in private stations. The crimes of youth sometimes continue as an indelible stain, throughout life: the best conduct in manhood and old age will not be sufficient wholly to regain the favour of mankind. Yet let not such persons be too deeply dispirited. Let them lay aside indeed all claims to reputation and honour; but let them fervently, and without ceasing, pray, that their penitence may at length be favourably accepted by the most gracious and most merciful of all Beings.

* In relation to *Augustus's* clemency, see *Seneca*, *Lipfius's* edition, p. 194, 196.

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CRITO now turned his eyes suffused with tears towards his young companions. Happy, said he, are you, my dear friends, who have it in your power to begin your lives in the best course of complete virtue; and thus to lay the most solid, and ample foundation, for the comfort, happiness, and splendour, *without a flaw*, of whatever may be the remainder of your days: whether, by the mercy of heaven, you shall be removed soon to a better state; or whether you may have it in your power, by a long life here, to add daily to the happiness of others, and to your own virtues.

ON the whole, what should be your highest wish? First, that your youth may continue to be as virtuous as the youth of *Marcellus*; and then, that you may either add to it the goodness of the middle and latter years of *Augustus*; or else, die soon. May you die early, rather than do any thing to stain your glory, and degrade your virtue!

*Death, if it sin and sorrow thus prevent,
Is the next blessing to a life well spent.*

Μη δῆτα, μη δῆτ', Ω Θεων αγνον σεβας,
Ιδοιμι ταυτην ημεραν· αλλ' εκ βροτων

Βαλιν

Βαιην αφαντῶ προσθεν, η τοιανδ' ιδειν
 Κηλιδ' εμαυτω συμφορας αφιγμενην*.

* * *

THE company now walked out of the mausoleum; and stepping into their carriage, bid the coachman take them to *Marcellus's* theatre.

THE present state of the theatre of *Marcellus* is so very well known, to all persons who have read any travels to *Rome*, or looked over a collection of prints representing it's antiquities, that it is needless to insert here any description of that grand structure.

SUFFICE it to observe, that the young nobleman and the rest of the company, in viewing it, frequently admired the beauty of it's architecture; but much more frequently thought of the merits of the virtuous prince, in whose honour it was erected.

* * *

CRITO taking out his watch, and finding it yet but early in the day, proposed taking this

* SOPHOCLE. *Œdip. Tyr.* ver. 849.

oppor-

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opportunity to visit the arch of *Drusus*. It is situate, said he, in a very remote part of *Rome*: but we are now half way on our road thither.

THE company readily agreed to the proposal; and proceeded on their morning ramble towards that arch, passing under the western side of mount *Palatine*.

THEY looked up with admiration to the pompous ruins of the imperial palace.

OF how much sorrow, said *Crito*, was this *Palatine* hill the seat, in *Augustus's* time! How was the highest degree of human grandeur then embittered, by the most heart-felt disappointment and grief! Under the repetition of how many domestic misfortunes did *Augustus* there groan! You remember the flattering lines of *Albinovanus*.

*Cæsar*is adde domum: quæ certè funeris expers,
Debit humanis altior esse malis.

Ille vigil, summâ sacer ille locatus in arce

Res hominum ex tuto cernere dignus erat.

Nec fleri ipse suis, nec quenquam flere suorum;

Nec quæ nos patimur vulgus & ipse pati.

Was this the case? Ah! no. Even his most severe enemies might have pitied him, while crying out,

A.S.

Αἰδ' ὀφελον τ' αἶνον τ' ἐμμεναι, ἀγαμ' τ' ἀπολεσθαι*.

BESIDE all other sorrow, he saw his sister, the excellent *Octavia*, die of long grief for the loss of her beloved *Marcellus*: he saw his wife *Livia* burying her only good son, *Drusus*; *Drusus*, who, next to *Marcellus*, is generally described to be one of the most amiable youths of his time, and the most deservedly regretted by his family and country: *Tiberius*, in the mean time, surviving *Drusus*, for the punishment of his country, in the same manner as *Julia*, for that of her family, survived both *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*.

AT some distance from mount *Palatine*, between the *Cælian* and *Aventine* hills, stands the arch of *Drusus*. Its top is overgrown with moss and shrubs, but its sides are still adorned with two rich marble columns.

THE young nobleman, in viewing this monument of the memory of *Drusus*†, recollected what he had heard and seen, relative to the said roman prince, in his passage through *Lorrain* and *France*; particularly at *Metz* and *Lyons*. At *Metz*, said he,

* *Hom. Il. r. ver. 40.* See also *Sueton. in August. 65.*

† *Primum fuisse Drusum, cui mortuo arcus dicatus sit, observat Norisius, Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 412. sq. See Reimar's edit. of Dion Cass. p. 772.* This arch is represented on some of the medals of *Drusus*.

I think

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I think there are several beautiful remains of antiquity, which are ascribed to him : but it was at *Lyons*, that *Drusus*, by his most engaging behaviour, established peace and tranquillity through all the extensive regions of the *gauls*. It was at *Lyons*, then the capital and metropolis of that country, that he erected the famous monument of the concord of sixty *gallic* states, and of his own dutiful respect to his father *Augustus*; I mean the altar and temple, built near the conflux of the *Saone* and *Rhone**.

CRITO'S pupil, who had taken the route of *Holland* and the *Low Countries*, recollected the noble monument *there* remaining of *Drusus's* wisdom, and greatness of mind; namely, the canal†,

* Of that structure there are to this day remaining two stately columns of *egyptian* granite. They may be seen in the church of *D'Enay*, which stands near the point of the conflux; and probably on the very spot where the ancient altar of *Augustus* was placed. These two granite columns seem to be of the same sort and size with those of *Agrippa's* portico, at the *Pantheon*: but they are now sawn in sunder, and divided into four pillars, which support the small dome of that church. As to their original form, position, and use, several medals may be consulted.

† This canal extended from *Iseloort* to *Doesburg*, anciently called *Drusus's Burgh*. It joined the *Rhine* to the *Iffel*, as well as to many of the *bataavian* lakes; and through them to the northern *German* ocean. It is not improbable that *Peter* the Great, while in *Holland*, might attentively consider this great work; and thence take the hint of several similar, and still more noble designs, for uniting the rivers, lakes, and seas, in his own vast dominions.

which this adoptive son of *Augustus*, with a truly imperial design, and in the spirit of the ancient wisdom of *Egypt*, cut through part of *Holland*, that beautiful *European Delta*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen, who had passed some time in *Germany*, particularly in the provinces on the *Rhine*, with pleasure added, that above fifty german towns, which now cover the banks of that great river, all owe their foundation to the wisdom of *Drusus*. They derive their origin, said he, from the several stations, which *Drusus* prudently chose for his encampments, in those then wild and uncultivated regions. Such was the origin of *Strasburg*; such of *Mentz*. I remember seeing at *Mentz* the ruins of an ancient trophy, or cenotaph*, erected to the honour of *Drusus*. It stands on the highest spot of ground in the citadel, exactly fronting the conflux of the *Rhine* and *Main*. With great satisfaction I thence viewed the prospect of that beautiful country, which is now the garden of *Germany*, watered by those two noble rivers: a prospect, I suppose, in some measure analogous to that, which you, my noble friend, have seen from the hills at *Lyons*.

* Ελαβε (Δευστος) τιμην κενοταφίς προς αὐτῷ τῷ Πηνῶ.

Dio Cassius, lib. 55. p. 772.

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How happy is it, dear sir, continued he, turning to *Crito*, when the desolating operations of war are thus mixed and tempered with the works of peace : when, by the benevolence of Providence, so much good is produced, even in the midst, and springing, as it were, out of the greatest evils ! May such be the consolatory consequences of our present *north-american* wars ! May the *british* generals in the *New World* become there the founders of as many cities, as *Alexander*, or his imitator *Selencus* * ; as *Augustus*, or this his noble imitator *Drusus*, have been in the Old !

BUT why am *I* thus talking ? I am sure, my dear sir, that you have some paper on the character of *Drusus*, with which you intend to favour us : and where better than in this place ?

I HAVE indeed a very short paper of notes on the subject, replied *Crito* ; and I have brought you hither, I own, upon that account. But though this triumphal arch of *Drusus* be a proper object for awakening our curiosity, in relation to his history ; yet the spot is by no means convenient for a studious lecture. You see it stands on a great public road.

* *Selencus* built no less than forty cities in *Asia*.

IF you please, let us retire to your lodgings. We will return thither by the way of the temple of *Minerva Medica*. We shall have time enough before dinner for making that tour.

* * *

THE company now turned down from the great road into the solitary rural lanes of the *Cælian* hill. They passed by the ruins of that great aqueduct, which was built by a son of *Drusus*. They then crossed over to the *Esquiline* hill, and stopped at the door of a vineyard.

THE name of the vineyard is *Galuzza*; being, most probably, a corruption and confusion of the names of *Caius* and *Lucius*, the sons of *Agrippa*, and grandsons of *Augustus*; to whose memory *Augustus* here erected a basilica, and a temple.

THIS temple, like several other buildings of the *augustan* age,—as the *Pantheon*, the *Mausoleum*, and the *Hemicyclium* of the *Palatine Apollo*,—is in the form of a rotunda*. It's moss-grown

* It is a decagon. It's circuit on the outside is two hundred and twenty-five feet. In the walls between each angle are broad and deep niches for statues. Here was found that statue, which at present makes a principal ornament of the *Giustiniani* gallery; the statue of *Minerva*, with a serpent at her feet.

walls

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walls and lofty roof are still remaining, though much shattered in many places.

THE company entered this vineyard. In passing through one of its walks, they looked down into the sepulchral vaults of the *Arruntian* family: they then proceeded to the temple. In the centre of the temple they found a large fountain, by the side of which they sat down.

CRITO, in a pensive posture, for a few moments reflected on the common lot of mortality, and on the vanity of all human grandeur. If I remember right, said he, *Augustus*, within the short space of eighteen months, was deprived of *Caius* and *Lucius*; those two young princes, to whom, after the death of *Marcellus*, he looked as the support of his family, and whom he had brought up to succeed him in the imperial power.—Sorrow upon Sorrow!—Perhaps *Augustus* might build this temple as a kind of medicinal lenitive to his grief: for here *Minerva* was honoured, as another *Hygeia*; graciously presiding over the health of that part of the human nature, which, though not indeed subject to mortality, is yet, from the earliest childhood, continually liable to various pains, and dreadful maladies. Frequently is the goddess of *Wisdom* on this account, intitled *Minerva Medica*; and represented with the attributes

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of *Æsculapius* *; the serpent, and the wand; blessing mankind with the *medicinâ mentis*, as he did with that of the body.

CRITO now opened a pocket-volume of *Tully*, and read to his friends the introduction to the third book of the *Tusculan* questions: *De ægritudine leniendâ* †.

THE conversation afterwards returned to it's original subject. The young nobleman took notice of the picturesque appearance of this ruined temple; and then spoke of the statues of *Caius* and *Lucius*, which represent them with the attributes of *Castor* and *Pollux* ‡.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen commended *Augustus's* care in the education of the young princes of the family. For though *Caius* and *Lucius* died very young, I must presume, said he, that they had received much instruction from *Augustus*. He was, indeed, very unhappy in *Tiberius* and *Julia*; yet, how glorious were the fruits of his

* See the plate of the temple and figure of *Minerva Medica*, in *Mountfaucon's Journey to Italy*, C. 8

† *Quidnam esse, Brute, causæ putem, cur, cum constemus ex animo & corpore, corporis curandi tuendique causâ quæsitâ sit ars, ejus atque utilitas, deorum immortalium inventioni consecrata: animi autem medicina, nec tam desiderata, &c.*

‡ These statues were found near the theatre of *Marcellus*, and are now placed on the ascent to the *Capitol*.

paternal

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paternal care in *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus* ! What imperial palace ever, in one reign, produced three such young princes ?

MAY a similar education for ever bless all the royal youth of *Europe* ! But why do I form *so imperfect* a wish, on so great an occasion ? May they be blessed with a *far better* education : even with those instructions, which the goddess of this temple is said, under the shape of *Mentor*, to have herself bestowed on the youthful heir of a *grecian* kingdom ; and which a *Fenelon* has copied so excellently, for the benefit of all the princes and people of *Europe* ; though his amiable pupil, the duke of *Burgundy*, died equally young with *Drusus* and *Germanicus*.

I AM sure, dear sir, added he, turning to *Crito*, you must often have thought on that noble work with great pleasure, during your last journey through *France* : especially, while you were visiting the archi-episcopal church of *Cambray* ; or when seated by some of the shady fountains in the gardens of *Marli*.

CRITO listened with glowing satisfaction to these sentiments expressed by his young friend. He then turned round to his pupil, and desired to borrow for some moments his pocket *Horace*. He

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opened it at the fourth book, and read the following lines.

*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis—
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam;
Relique mores pectora roborant;
Utcunque defecere mores,
Dedecorant benè nata culpæ*.*

AFTER *Marcellus's* death, continued *Crito*, *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, the two princely brothers of whom *Horace* here speaks, were educated together in the palace, and under the eye of *Augustus*. *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus*, had afterwards, as you observe, the same happiness.

DURING the life of *Augustus*, these three princes, though the character of *Tiberius* seems always to have been the lowest of the three, were, in general, regarded by the public with very great esteem. The romans, still more than their enemies,

*Sensere, quid mens ritè, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Possit; quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Neronēs†.*

* *Carm. Lib. IV. Od. 4,*

† *Ib. ver. 25,*

BUT

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BUT let us, at present, confine our thoughts to
Drusus.

HE seems to have been blessed with a very excellent natural disposition, as well as with a good education.

Adolescens erat tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalis recipit, aut industria perficit. Cujus ingenium, utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est: morum certè dulcedo, & adversus amicos omnes, æqua & par sui æstimatio inimitabilis fuisse, dicitur.

IN this panegyric of *Velleius Paterculus* we must certainly make some considerable allowances for the exaggeration of court flattery: but I apprehend it, in the main, to be founded on truth. The testimonies also of other ancient writers seem to confirm it. It is, I suppose, from these writers, that the authors of the Modern Universal History have extracted a very splendid character of this hero.

DRUSUS was a man of an unblemished character; of a probity, which was proof against all temptations; of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit or dissimulation. He was no way
inferiour,

inferiour, either in courage or conduct, to the most experienced commanders of his age; and had nothing in view, in all his expeditions, but the glory of the roman name, and the public welfare. By the last expressions the authors probably mean the welfare of the roman state.

THE character of *Drusus*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, seems to resemble that of our illustrious prince of *Wales*, son of our great *Edward* the Third. I think you have seen his monument at *Canterbury*; and you cannot but recollect his military trophies at *Windsor*.

HE certainly resembled *Drusus*, replied *Crito*, in several exalted virtues: but particularly in those most amiable of them all, filial respect and love. To virtues of this kind may you ever continue to give your principal attention!

IT is true, that in *military* affairs *Drusus*, after the decease of *Agrippa*, was the greatest character of the times. His campaigns in *Germany* gave full proof, both of his conduct, and of his courage. You must have noticed, I am sure, many coins of *Augustus*, which, in honour of the victories of *Drusus*, are adorned with military trophies, and with the inscription "*De Germanis*."

BUT

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BUT, in what manner shall we speak of those victories?

DRUSUS'S army, in his last campaigns, passed the *Rhine* and *Wefer*, and ravaged the whole country even to the banks of the *Elbe*.—Pitiable *Germany*!—how often are thy fair provinces exposed to the ravages of war! Thy plains, from the banks of the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, are even now smoking with blood. With what horror, my dear pupil, did we, last spring, pass over several fields of carnage, in *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and the dominions of *Brunswick*!

BUT *Drusus*, being commander of the *roman* army in that bloody expedition, incurred the deepest malediction of the *german* nations. On his head their heaviest curses fell. Permit me to read to you some few lines, which I have extracted from *Barre's History of Germany*. Tandis qu'à Rome *Drusus* étoit regretté, comme un prince d'un mérite distingué; brave, vertueux, plein de bonté, digne de remplacer *Auguste*; en *Germanie*, les cattes, les *sueves*, les *cherusques*, se rejoissoient de sa mort. Ils avoient éprouvé, de la part de ce prince, [or rather from the *roman* army under his command] des cruautés inouïes; ce qui rendit sa mémoire si detestable parmi eux, que lorsqu'ils vou-

loient

loient du mal à quelqu'un, ils souhaitoient, qu'il tombât entre les mains d'un autre Drusus*.

I REMEMBER that, when we afterwards came from the northern parts of *Germany* into the *Palatinate*, I passed some days, at *Manheim*, in reading the dismal history of the destruction in that country, done by order of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and by the army under the command of marshal *Turenne*: a name, which, on this occasion, I grieve to repeat. I then thought, that a parallel might be drawn, between the *german* expedition of *Drusus*, and this sad part of the military history of *Turenne*. Both must have been hated in *Germany*, for executing the orders of their sovereigns: while both were, justly, beloved at home, for their own virtues †.

CRITO now paused for some moments; and then, resuming his discourse, recited those well-known verses of *Addison*:

* *Histoire d'Allemagne*, vol. i. p. 146. quarto edition. *Pere Barre* refers, on this head, to *Crusius*; *Ann. Suev.* lib. ii. p. 2. & 45.

† "*A military profession is very dangerous to persons desirous of leading a life of goodness.*" Such was the famous reflection of marshal *Turenne*, made by him on his death-bed; probably while recollecting the dreadful ruin of the *Palatinate*.

"Men may *live* fools; but fools they cannot *die*!"

Should

*Should he go further, numbers will be wanting
To form new battles, and support his crimes.
Ye Gods! what havock does ambition make
Among your works*!*

WOULD I were now endued with the thoughts and the language of an *Addison*, or of a *Fenelon*; duly to lament the dismal effects and consequences of the pride of monarchs, dismal to the world in general, and ten-fold more dismal, often, to themselves!

LEWIS lived long enough to see the *Palatinate* revenged at *Blenheim*. *Augustus* lived to behold and feel the heavy punishment, which the *Nemesis* of *Germany* poured down upon the legions of *Varus*. Permit me to read to you a short extract from *Dion Cassius*.

ΤΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΑΘΩΝ Ο ΑΥΓΥΣΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΩ ΟΥΑΡΩ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΟΤΑ, ΠΕΝΘΕ ΜΕΓΑ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ, ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΩΛΟΣΙ, Κ' ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΩΝ ΔΕΕΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ, ΟΤΙ Κ' ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ, ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΡΩΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ, ΟΡΜΗΣΕΙΝ ΣΦΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΔΟΚΗΣΕ.

SUCH, indeed, was at last the case.

LET us reflect, my dear and noble friend, for a few moments, on the stately magnificence in

* CATO, Scene I.

which

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which *Rome* appeared, towards the close of *Augustus's* reign: when the buildings we have this day visited; his imperial mausoleum, the theatre of *Marcellus*, the triumphal arch of *Drusus*, and *this* temple, were all in their full splendour. Then let us ask ourselves, What was the mighty power, that could be able to destroy this proud city?—The warlike descendants of those very *german* nations, whose lands were invaded and ravaged by *Drusus's* army.

PLEASE to recollect, my dear pupil, the vision which appeared to *Æneas*: the vision of those future *roman* generals, who were to punish *Greece* for it's ancient cruelties to *Troy*:

Ille

*Victor aget currum, cæsis insignis achivis ;
Eruet ille Argos, agamemnoniasque Mycenæ
Ultus avos Trojæ*.*

In the same manner, you may imagine that *german* prophets, who, on the banks of the *Elbe*, drove back the *roman* army by her execrations. You may imagine her, I say, on one hand, denouncing speedy death to *Drusus*, and loading with curses the whole family of the *Cæsars*; in the same style, perhaps, as the *british* druid cursed

* *ÆNEID.* vi. 837.

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the *Plantagenet* family: * on the other hand, turning to the several nations of *Germany*, and prophecying their future victories. "The descendants of *this* chief of the *bruëteri* shall subdue *Mentz* and *Lyons*, and expel the *romans* from all the provinces of *Gaul*. The posterity of *that* chief of the *quadi* shall take ample revenge on *Rome* herself; shall fire *Mount Palatine*, shall deface *Drusus's* triumphal arch, shall overthrow the mausoleum of *Augustus*, and trample indigantly on his ashes."

It seems very observable, said the young nobleman, that, in digging among the ruins of *this* temple, several of it's statues and ornaments have been found broken and battered; and among them lay some old *german* hatchets, probably the instruments of their demolition†.

BUT enough of *Germany*, said *Crito*: I should not, perhaps, have proceeded so far in this kind of digression, had I not considered you, my dear fellow-travellers, as in a manner peculiarly concerned in the history of ancient *Germany*. Your illustrious families, it is very likely, are all descended from some *german* origin. Your *saxon*

* See *Gray's Ode: Ruin seize thee, &c.*

† See abbé *Richard's Voyage d'Italie.*

ancestors

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ancestors came into *England* from those provinces, which are washed by the *Wefer*, and by the *Elbe*.

LET us now turn our thoughts again to *Drusus*; and consider him, not amidst the horrors of war, but in a far more amiable light; in his domestic and civic character.

*Occidit, exemplum juvenis venerabile morum :
Maximus ille armis : maximus ille togâ.*

LIKE his dear *Antonia*, the worthy daughter of the virtuous and beautiful *Octavia*, *Drusus* united to a graceful body a still more lovely mind. He is said to have been possessed of all the qualities, which are fitted to produce either esteem or affection. He was generous; he was popular:—

IF I be not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Drusus* had deeply imbibed the doctrines of civil liberty. In case he had survived and succeeded *Augustus*, it was generally expected, that he would have restored the *roman* republic*.—*Credebatur, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus.*

* See *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 33.*

IT was so reported, said *Crito*, but I know not with what truth: much less can I pretend to judge, whether or no a design like this would have been really expedient. I should rather imagine, that *Drusus's* good sense, and good intentions, would in that case have directed him to another work; to a plan and system of policy, less splendid perhaps, but in reality far more beneficial for the public.

BUT, however this may be, it is certain, that *Drusus* was generally beloved at *Rome*. *Magna ejus erat apud populum romanum memoria*. His character was respected highly, to use a modern expression, both by the country and the court-party.

NOR let us listen to the vulgar calumnies thrown out against *Augustus* *. Wicked as courts sometimes may really be, yet I do not believe they are ever nearly so bad as they are reported: and I am confident, that you, dear sir, from your natural generosity of heart, and from a strong sense of political duty, will often turn your ears, with horror and detestation, from many villainous

* *Displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia; neque ob aliud interceptos, quàm quia populum romanum æquo jure completi redditâ libertate agitaverint.*—*Hos vulgi sermones, &c.*
Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 82.

lies, suggested against government with equal falsehood and malice.

AUGUSTUS seems not only to have been totally innocent of this villainous accusation, but to have been really and deeply afflicted at the death of *Drusus*.

I CANNOT but think, that the grief and affection of *Augustus* towards this his amiable adopted son must have been sincere, while he was composing the history of his life. He even spoke the funeral oration over his corpse.

IN that oration, *Augustus* declared, with tears, that all he wished for the glory of his then surviving children was this—that they might live to resemble *Drusus*.

HE added, in the style of a *roman* orator, that all he desired *for himself* was, that he might die like this hero, in the service of his country; in the midst of his triumphs.

THE emperor afterwards took the urn, bore it into his mausoleum, and placed it there; probably near that of *Marcellus*.

* * *

THE

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THE solemn entry of *Drusus's* corpse into *Rome**; the deep and mournful silence, with which his urn was deposited in the tomb; these, my dear friends, are subjects of meditation, far more edifying, far more pleasing, than the description of any ovation, or triumph.

YET, pleasing as is the idea, let me refrain myself from enlarging on the subject.—There is, however, one circumstance relative to it, on which I could be glad if you would, for some moments, indulge your imaginations.

THE historian, *Livy*, was at the time of *Drusus's* burial about fifty years of age. It is highly probable, that he was then resident at *Rome*, and present at the funeral solemnity. Let me desire you to consider, what were most probably *his* thoughts on that occasion.

Is it not likely, that he meditated upon it with much application of mind? If we examine the epitome, or contents of his history, we shall find, that the actions of *Drusus* constitute the principal argument of the five last books; and that the conclusion of his whole work is *Drusus's* death.

* *Accedebat, ad hanc mortem Drusi, ingens civium provinciarumque & totius Italiae desiderium: per quam effusus in officium lugubre municipiis, coloniisque, usque in urbem ductum erat funus, triumpho simillimum.* Seneca, Consol ad Martiam.

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Corpus Romam pervectum, & in C. Julii tumulo conditum. Laudatus est a Cæsare Augusto vitrico; & supremis ejus plures honores additi.*

THE great and noble work of *Livy's* roman history thus closing with the funeral of *Drusus*, it is not to be doubted, that the writer exerted the full strength of his genius on this mournful occasion; particularly by delineating the character of *Drusus* in a style suitable to the hero's merit, and worthy of his own pen. If the conclusion of *Livy's* labours were yet extant, I should probably with much pleasure have presented to you an extract from it this morning, while you were standing under the shade of *Drusus's* arch.

How does this reflection recall our repeated wishes, that the history of *Livy* had been found at *Constantinople* entire!

PARDON me for this reverie, said the young nobleman; but I cannot help imagining, that, if the learned world be ever to rejoice in such a discovery, that discovery will most likely be made in *Italy*; probably within the precincts of *Rome*. Perhaps on some fortunate day, a chest may be

* *Augusti est intelligendum.* Nam, inquit *Dio*, ἐς τὸ τὸ
Αὐγούστου μνημείου κατέτιθη. Seg. Vide *Livii*, edit. *oxon.*
 vol. vi. p. 175.

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found deeply buried in the ruins of this city: a chest containing the works of *Livy*, in great measure perfect, together with some other ancient authors. This conjecture will not seem *totally absurd* to those persons, who have been eye-witnesses of the surprising depth of soil, to which the ruins of this ancient city extend. They extend, in several places, so low down as twenty feet; in the *Cælian* hill to near seventy. Among these ruins, and particularly among those on *Mount Palatine*, several arched vaults have been frequently discovered by accident, at different periods of time. Many curious paintings, and many chef-d'œuvres of antique sculpture, have been found in these subterranean recesses. Is it not possible, that some of them may contain a far more precious treasure?

I COULD wish, said *Crito's* pupil, that the goddess of this temple would, with her snaky-wreathed wand, kindly point out to us the spot, where we might dig for that treasure?

I REMEMBER, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, with a smile, that, when we visited the mines in *Germany*, we heard much of the crooked haselstick. Might it not be wished, that there was some such divining rod for the discovery of the gold mines of literature? But perhaps the

wand of *Minerva Medica* might be full as sure a guide.

THE conversation now shifted to various topics; when the young nobleman, taking out his watch, was surprised to find it so late. We must make haste home, said he; or we shall lose our dinner. Besides, our servants and horses have been a long while standing exposed to the scorching sun. Let us have pity on them, and return to our lodgings. We shall have made, this morning, almost the whole tour of *Rome*.

IN the way home, *Crito* mentioned a scheme, which he had heard proposed among some travellers; and which he thought might possibly be productive of many important discoveries. He wished this scheme at some time or other might be brought to effect; as it seemed conducive to the advancement of charity and policy, no less than of *literature* and *vertù* *.

THE

* The streets of *Rome* swarm with poor, who are fed indeed at the gates of the convents; but live in a great measure destitute both of lodging and clothes. Several of these miserable wretches might, by industry, if they could get employment, provide for themselves better; and many of them seem very well able to work.

If a subscription of 200l. or 300l. were raised, and permission

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THE young gentlemen strongly approved the idea of this proposal; and ardently wished it could be begun during their stay in *Rome*, as they would gladly have subscribed to it.

THE subscription, I apprehend, said *Crito* would without much difficulty be raised among *english* travellers: but the *whole* management of the money must be entrusted to *roman* hands. Happy, if a *roman* of proper dignity would undertake it.

CRITO'S pupil now amused his friends with some pleasing conjectures with respect to the writers of antiquity, whose works might by these means be possibly recovered. If, said he, the royal master of the *Farnese* gardens, the king of *Naples*, would give permission for the ruins

mission obtained from the government, *under proper restrictions*, for digging; it is almost certain, that, before that sum was expended, it would be in a great degree reimbursed by the sale of the mere bricks and tiles, that would be turned up.

But it is highly probable, that many things of value also might be discovered, the sale of which would thoroughly indemnify the subscribers; and thus, the charity might be continued, for several years, by such a circulation of expending and receiving.

If any thing of *very extraordinary* note were found, it would by no means be proper to have it exposed to sale, and exported from *Rome*. The trustees of the charity might present it gratis to the *roman* government; to be deposited, if an article of vertu, in the *Capitoline Museum*; if of literature, in the *Vatican Library*.

of the *Palatine* library to be thoroughly examined, it is not impossible that *Varius*, and some other eminent authors of the *augustan* age, might be brought to light. Perhaps too their works might be found in a much better condition, than the scorched and pulverized manuscripts at *Herculanum*.

BUT, among all the literary productions of the *augustan* age, none would be so acceptable to the public as a perfect *Livy*. Indeed, the loss, which *Livy's* history has suffered, is much more generally lamented, than that of any other *roman* or *greek* composition: which seems somewhat extraordinary; for, notwithstanding the real high merit of *Livy*, there certainly have been several other writers, who deserve to be at least equally regretted.

THE conversation now turned on the works of *Livy*. It dwelt on that subject for a considerable time; both while the company were in the coach, and while they were seated together at dinner.

* * *

AFTER dinner the young gentlemen dressed, and went out to make some visits. *Crito* retired to

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to his apartment, to put his papers and books in order.

HAVING now passed through all the series of ages contained in *Livy's* history, he laid those volumes, together with *Freinshemius's* Supplement, aside; not without some sentiments of respect and gratitude for the respective authors. In putting away the last volume, he had the curiosity to see in what manner *Freinshemius* concluded the long and laborious work of his Supplement.

THE last paragraph of that work is as follows:

Præsenti labori meo, in his temporibus actisque, finem facio, circa quæ Livianam etiam historicam desisse indicio Epitomarumprehenditur; toto animo versus in majoris & constantioris imperii auctorem dominumque JESUM CHRISTUM: quem sub hosce annos,—de natali enim ejus, haud levibus argumentis, inter doctos disputatur—hominem natum suus aspexit potiùs quàm agnovit orbis. Hujus beneficio, siquid utiliter elaboravi, debere me totum profiteor; eumque suppliciter oro, ut porro, mentem eam mihi fervet, omnia de quibus hic scripsi, regna, victorias, triumphos nullo modo digna reputantem; ob quæ Illius sanctissima secta, aut quidquid ea facere, ac pati jubet, ullâ ex parte negligatur.

CRITO

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CRITO, after perusing these sentences with deep attention, retired to his closet for a quarter of an hour: he afterwards took a solitary walk, it being now late in the afternoon, along the shady side of the *Strado felice*. The streets of *Rome* are not indeed improper places for study and contemplation, some of them being as *quiet* and *still* as any college quadrangles.

ARRIVED at the stately northern front of the basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, *Crito* stood for some minutes admiring it. He then turned his eyes to the *egyptian* obelisk, which is erected before it; and which was removed hither from the mausoleum of *Augustus*.

CRITO perused the inscriptions on it's basis. He then went up the flight of steps into the church: he turned short on his left hand by the four *porphyry* pillars, which support the canopy over the high altar; and entered the chapel, which adorns it's *northern* side.

ADVER.

ADVERTISEMENT;

TO THE

READER.

IT seems highly proper, at this time, to break the thread of these supposed ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

YOU are now arrived at the important æra of the GREATEST EVENT, that ever ennobled the history of the world.

WHAT *that event* was, the author is by no means worthy to say. Sensible of his extreme demerit, he can only refer you to the second chapter of the gospel of St. LUKE; particularly to it's first twenty verses. See also the first chapter of that gospel, from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-eighth verse; and the gospel of St. JOHN, the first chapter, and fourteenth verse.

Magnus, ab integro, Sæclorum nascitur ORDO!

VIRGIL, *Pollio*. Ecl. iv. 5.

CHAP.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

It seems highly proper, at this time, to
present the threat of this supposed Roman
Constitutions.

You are now arrived at the important
part of the greatest event, that ever
shook the history of the world.

What event was the author is by no
means worthy to say, sensible of his extreme
importance, he can only refer you to the second
chapter of the gospel of St. Luke, particu-
larly to its first twenty verses. See also the
first chapter of that gospel, from the twenty-
third to the thirty-eighth verse; and the gos-
pel of St. John, the first chapter, and four-
teenth verse.

Allegory of the Gospel of St. John, by Ordo
Veneris, Vol. iv. 5.
CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IT seems to have been a very desirable event for the welfare of the *roman* state, if *Augustus*, in the best part of his reign, had, with the advice of his council, designed a *wise plan of future legislation*; if, during that time of general tranquillity, he had settled a *solid form of government*; a *proper distribution of the civil power, between the prince, the senate, and the people*; and a *regular, hereditary succession to the imperial authority*. Such a work would have been far more laudable than any scheme, for restoring the anarchy of the late republic.

SUCCEEDING generations would then have had the greatest reason to honour and to bless the memory of *Augustus*. Such a form of government would, in all probability, have prevented many of those miseries, which soon after the death of *Augustus* began to fall on the *roman* people, on the senatorial families, and on his imperial successors themselves. The want of such a settled

bled form of government was indeed severely felt, so long as the *roman* empire continued to exist.

BUT perhaps, notwithstanding the beauty and general utility of such a legislative plan, and it's remarkable congeniality, in several particulars, with the old *roman* constitution, *Augustus* might not find himself hardy enough to venture upon it. It might possibly give some disturbance to the present public calm, or rather public *lethargy*: and therefore it might be dropped, like several other noble designs for the public good; which are continually lost, in all ages and countries, by the excessive caution of government, or rather it's timidity, *movendi composita*.

PERHAPS, also, neither *Augustus*, nor any of his council, was endued with sufficient strength of political wisdom. A mixed distribution of civil power is continually before our eyes in *England*: but there is a very wide difference between seeing and admiring a complicated machine, and the being able to have invented it. Not one of all the most celebrated *legislators* of antiquity appears to have arrived at the perfect comprehension of so great an idea; though several, both at *Rome* and in *Greece*, seem to have made very considerable approaches towards it.

SUCH

SUCH were the sentiments expressed by the eldest of the young gentlemen to his three friends, as they sat round his table to-day after breakfast. He then took up *Tacitus's* Annals, which lay among some other political books on the table, and proceeded as follows.

TACITUS seems to have almost formed the complete idea of such a plan; but, at the same time, to have considered it as ideal only; and to have thought, that no real fabric of government could ever be built, or stand long, on such foundations.

Cunctas nationes & urbes, populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt. Delecta ex his & constituta reipublicæ forma, laudari facilius, quàm evenire; vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.*

THANK GOD, such a system of government has really existed in *Great Britain*, allowing some considerable and essential variations, for now above ten centuries.

PROBABLY, said the young nobleman, the *roman* empire was of too great an extent for so happy a plan of government. Several political

* Annal. lib. iv. c. 33.

writers are, I believe, of opinion, that democracy, aristocracy, or limited monarchy, is best suited for states of a moderate size: but that vast and enormous empires demand an absolute sovereign.

MAY not another reason be given for it? said *Crito*. Did *Rome* deserve such happiness? Let us recollect the long and black catalogue of her former crimes: let us now re-consider the miseries of those many nations, whom she had invaded, enslaved, extirpated. Did *she* deserve so eminent a political blessing? Ah! no. Other things are prepared for her. *Her* people also shall be enslaved: *Rome* shall groan under the most absolute despotism, the most bloody tyranny. The first successor of *Augustus*, shall be a *Tiberius*.

*Post hunc castrensis caligæ cognomine Cæsar
Succedet sævo sævior ingenio:
Cædibus incestisque dehinc maculosus, & omni
Crimine pollutum qui superabit avum.*

I forget what the poet says of *Claudius*, and *Nero*: but I think we may assert, with confidence, that as no state was ever visited with a series of *such* oppressors, so will it be difficult to find any people, whose wickedness more deserved such a punishment.

TACITUS

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TACITUS says, that *Sejanus* acquired his great power, *non tam solertiâ, quàm Deûm irâ in rem romanam* *. The same observation may be made in relation to most of the twelve *Cæsars*.

PROVIDENCE cast upon the romans the furiousness of it's wrath, by sending these evil angels among them. PSAL. lxxviii. v. 49.

* * *

BUT let me correct my asperity in the application. The romans were indeed very bad; yet in the midst of their punishment, many mercies and blessings were vouchsafed to them. Their tyrants were, in general, very execrable; but yet there was not one of them, of whom it might not be justly said, that he had sometimes performed something that was good.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, a great absurdity, of which I was guilty when at the university. In reading *Tacitus's* Annals, I met with several particulars of the life of *Tiberius*, which were very laudable; several actions of generosity and fortitude, which seemed not unworthy the character even of the best of princes. In *Velleius's* encomium, also, I thought I found much

* TACIT. *Annal.* lib. iv. c. i,

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truth, as well as much falsehood and flattery. I employed myself, for a week, in collecting all these laudable parts of *Tiberius's* history into one paper, omitting whatever was of a contrary nature. That paper I lately found in my *porte-feuille*; and will communicate it to you, if I think of it, when you are at *Puteoli*, viewing the antique marble in the market place*.

I INTENDED to pursue the same scheme with respect to the reigns of *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*. But the absurdity of the design became in the process so very glaring; the evil, which I could scarce avoid reading, especially if I took up *Suetonius*, so infinitely outweighed the good, and appeared of so very heinous and horrid a nature; that, before I had finished the life of *Tiberius*, I cast aside the paper, incomplete and incorrect, into my *porte-feuille*. Perhaps I ought rather to have flung it, with indignation, into the fire.

WHEN I afterwards mentioned the affair to you, my dear tutor, you kindly told me, that from my week's exercise I might at least draw two useful lessons for my own conduct. First, that some

* The pedestal of that statue of *Tiberius*, which was erected by fourteen cities of *Asia*, in gratitude for his beneficence to them, when laid desolate by an earthquake. See *Painter's Letters from Italy*, letter 73.

transient acts of generosity are far from being sufficient, to denominate a person truly charitable. The dispositions to charity must, by frequent acts, be wrought into his very frame; and become the firm, permanent, habitual affections of his soul. Secondly, much less is a transient practice of *one* virtue, for instance, that virtue to which youth is *most easily* disposed, *erogandæ per honesta pecuniæ*, sufficient to justify a young man in an high opinion of himself; particularly if he neglect other not less noble or useful branches of virtue. The most difficult, but perhaps the most important part of his duty is, properly to govern those passions, which easily lead, first to venial offences, then to more vitious excess; and which, if not timely prevented, will thence gradually drag down his soul to the depth of criminal horrors. Many young men, who were at first well principled, have been by imperceptible degrees so corrupted, as to have too much reason, at least, to cry out with *Phædra*;

*Why was I born with such a sense of virtue,
So great abhorrence of the smallest crime:
And yet a slave to such impetuous guilt?**

THESE were the instructions, with which, I well remember, you, my kind tutor, favoured

* See SMITH'S *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*, act i. sc. 3.

me, while at the university. But let me not, by talking any longer on this subject, prevent you from beginning the lecture, with which you intend to favour us this morning.

YESTERDAY, said *Crito*, we concluded our review of that long series of the generations of *Rome*, whose actions were the subject of *Livy's* history. This morning we are to begin the thread of *Tacitus's* Annals. Much reason have I to wish, that I were in any degree capable of conversing properly with you on those topics, which a *Livy* or a *Tacitus* thought worthy of their labours.

THIS first volume of *Tacitus* comprehends the two and twenty years of *Tiberius's* reign. Notwithstanding the general wretchedness of those times, yet a catalogue might be extracted from it of several good men, whose names *Tacitus* here mentions with honour. But the chief hero of this volume is *Germanicus*. If you please, we will allot this morning to his memory.

YOUR coach shall carry us, if you have no objection, to the *Barberini* palace. We will visit the apartment which is adorned with *Poussin's* picture

picture of the death of *Germanicus*; and, either in that apartment of the *Barberini* palace, or in one of the chambers of the *Capitoline* museum, prosecute our usual morning's study.

WE shall gladly attend you, replied the young nobleman, to that picture. Often, since I came to *Rome*, I have reflected with pleasure, that in these my lodgings * *Poussin* lived, thought, and laboured. Perhaps it was in this very room, where we are now sitting, that *Poussin* conceived the idea, and executed the design, of that noble painting of *Germanicus's* death.

THE *Barberini* palace contains ten noble apartments; each of which consists of several rooms, furnished with great abundance of statues and paintings.

IN the eighth room of the prince's summer-apartment, is that famous picture of the death of *Germanicus*, by *Nicolo Poussin*; for which, it is said, the great duke offered no less a price than 15000 crowns, or 3750l. sterling.

* Next door to the french convent, on *Monte de Trinità*.

THE company employed near an hour in studying this picture: they afterwards proceeded to the *Capitol*.

* * *

IN passing through the second room of the *Capitoline* museum, the company stopped for some time, to admire the recumbent thoughtful statue of *Agrippina*. They then went on to the *imperial chamber*,

THE imperial chamber is called by that title, on account of the antique busts which it contains, representing most of the *roman* emperors, empresses, *Cæsars*, and consuls of the imperial blood. These busts are ranged round the room, in two rows, and are disposed in a regular chronological series*.

How grand is this assemblage! said the young nobleman. This congress of almost all the great

* *Videsi in prima luogo collocato il busto di Giulio Cesare di alabastro a righe. Siegue quello di Augusto. Indi una testa di Marcello suo nepote. Altra poi di Tiberio, e un busto del medesimo. Di bianchissimo marmo eal busto del suo fratello Druso fatto certamente in quel tempi, come ei manifesta l'eccellenza del lavoro. Alla sinistra di esso vedesi la stimabilissima testa della di lui moglie Antonia detta minore. La testa di Germanico loro figliuolo viene appresso. Poi quella della di lui moglie Agrippina, molto stimabile pel lavoro, &c.*

Museo Capitolino, p. 47.

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families who were honoured with the imperial crown of *Rome*, during the three centuries of it's greatest splendour!

IT is, indeed, a very majestic assembly, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But the awe which we feel on first entering the room, very considerably abates, when we consider the *difference* of the characters of these personages.

SEVERAL of them, I grant, said he, had noble and exalted minds;—pointing to the busts of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* on the upper row, near the window: but, in how many other of these breasts did the greatest meanness and misery lurk!

I AM afraid we shall too frequently find by our own experience, in all the courts, and in all the august assemblies of the present age, a similar strange mixture of company.

BUT, to consider it, continued he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, in a calm view, as one of your philosophers in the next room * might do; how ill-sorted does this company appear! *Agrippa*, *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*; *Titus*,

* The philosophic chamber in the *Capitoline Museum*, mentioned page 56 of this vol. is the room next adjoining to this imperial chamber.

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Nerva, and these several busts of *Marcus Aurelius*; mixed with those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and that most ill-looking *Caracalla* in that corner*!

Does not this strange mixture of company put you in mind of that part of the sculpture, on *Aeneas's* shield; in which *Virgil* has placed some of the worst, as well as some of the best of the roman characters, closely, and therefore instructively, contrasted together?

——— *Te, Catilina, minaci*
Pendentem scopulo, furiarumque ora tremementem;
Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem†.

HAPPY would it be, said *Crito*, after having fixed his eyes in silence for some moments on the floor, if in the future course of your lives you could dwell and converse only with the good. Such a blessing would, in some measure, turn earth into heaven.

I REMEMBER, about the middle of the first november that I passed on the continent, I heard

* *Alla fievrezza del volto, al terribile sopraciglio, ed alla minacciosa voltata di testa facil cosa é il riconoscere Caracalla effigiato in un busto di porfido con la testa di marmo.*

Museo Capitolino, p. 51.

† *ÆNEID.* viii. 668.

at

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at *Amiens* an anthem; the words of which gave me great pleasure. *Iustum deduxit dominus per vias rectas, & ostendit illi regnum DEI. O beatum virum, cujus anima Paradisum possidet; unde exultant angeli, lætantur archangeli, chorus sanctorum proclamat, turba virginum invitat; mane nobiscum in æternum!* Certainly, no little part of the perpetually increasing felicity and holiness of the celestial kingdom must be derived from the unmixed society, the eternal communion of it's saints.

HAPPY is the man, whose lot on earth, in some degree, resembles theirs!

BUT woe is me, who am constrained to dwell with *Mesech*, and to have my habitation among the tents of *Kedar* *!

LET us endeavour, my dear friends, to avoid, as much as possible, all bad connexions. It is the duty of eminently virtuous persons, to condescend to the conversation, and to endeavour the amendment of the wicked. But our principles of piety are as yet far too weak; let us not venture upon contagion. When we are forced among bad persons, let us recollect, how dange-

* PSAL. CXX. 4.

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rous a place this world is. So long as we continue in this life, we stand between heaven and hell; and out of every one of us, there will grow, either an angel, or what God of his infinite mercy for ever prevent, a devil.

BUT let us turn our thoughts to less weighty subjects. Let us resume our classic studies.

THIS assembly of the imperial families of *Rome* shows us virtue, and vice, both placed in the highest stations.

MAY the busts of *Tiberius*, and of those other tyrants, revive in your hearts the abhorrence of their characters: but may the amiable looks of *Germanicus*, and of these other princes, whose histories are adorned with many illustrious marks of wisdom and goodness, increase and inflame your noble emulation, your ardent desire of making by imitation their virtues your own; so far, at least, as your different stations and spheres of action seem to allow.

I HAVE brought a paper for your perusal here, on the back of which I find a reference to the beginning of *Demetrius's* life in *Plutarch*, and also some lines quoted from one of his treatises.—

Επιλογ.

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Επιλογιζεσθαι δι' αμφοτερων, οπως τα μεν Φυλαττομενοι, βελτιος ωμεν αυτων, τα δε μιμνεμενοι, μη χειρονες*.

THIS paper contains a kind of contrast, between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

EVERY day of my life ought I to grow more and more deeply convinced of my infinite unworthiness, to have any concern in the great work of education. May that blessed work flourish in other hands! Yet, as I have passed much time in studying the subject, however unprofitably, allow me to mention some of the opinions of the authors whom I have consulted.

IT is the opinion of several learned writers, that the most likely mean of preserving and increasing the love of virtue in young persons is, to place before their eyes continually, and on all sides, the noblest and brightest examples, that have existed since the foundation of the world. Perhaps the next best method, for the same purpose, is to shew to them sometimes, but not often, the extreme baseness and horreur of an opposite character†.

* See *Plutarch's* treatise, *De capiendâ ex inimico utilitate*. at the conclusion.

† See, especially, *HORACE*, *Sat. lib. i. sat. 4.*

————— *Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando, &c.*

FOR,

FOR, as no one can refuse his thanksgivings to heaven, for the glory and happiness of virtue to which he has been called, and which has been exemplified to him in the numerous examples of the wise and good; all, in a long series, through many ages, ardently imitating the excellencies of their predecessors: so, on the other hand, no person can help fearing for himself, when he sees the blackness, darkness, deep infamy, extreme wretchedness, and horrid misery of vice.

PERHAPS some of those, who lye in that gulph of vice, were once walking in the shining paths of virtue. Alas! *quam mutati sunt in deterius*. Such seems to have been, in a remarkable manner, the sad case of *Tiberius*.

BUT let me not indulge myself to an extreme of loquacity. I shall sufficiently exercise your patience by the perusal of this paper.

GERMANICUS.

THERE is not, perhaps, any part of the *roman* history, which shows more strongly the misery of degenerating from a good education, and of losing the virtuous reputation gained in our youth,

youth, than the contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

THEY both began their lives on the same exalted theatre of human grandeur; the *palace* of the *roman* empire. Both were educated by *Augustus*, at that time in the height of his goodness and wisdom. Both were possessed of great natural genius and abilities of mind. Both, in their early manhood, acted virtuously and nobly. But *Tiberius* suffered himself to grow gradually corrupt in heart, and to degenerate from the glorious beginning of his career. His actions of virtue and goodness became daily fewer and fewer: his heart grew worse and worse. *Morum enim tempora illi diversa. Egregius vitâ, famâque, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: fingens virtutes, donec superfuit Germanicus: inter bona, malaque mixtus, incolumi matre: postea in scelera omnia, & dedecora prorumpens**. Thus did he, gradually, become the most despicable, the most hated, the most accursed of characters: his long life, and exalted station, only adding to the weight of infamy and misery on his head.

THE name of *Germanicus* has been now, for more than seventeen centuries, and will probably continue, as long as the *roman* history remains,

* TACIT, *Annal.* lib. vi. c. ult.

beloved

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beloved and revered. *Ingenium illi contiget, in utroque eloquentiæ ac doctrinæ studio præcellens*; and that in poetry too, as well as oratory. *Multa reliquit studiorum monumenta*; particularly a translation of *Aratus*, with astronomical notes. But, what is of infinitely more consequence, *fortitudinem habuit egregiam; benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæque hominum gratiæ, ac promerendi amoris, mirum & efficax studium* *.

HE continued always to keep his heart, with all diligence, in the constant habit of intending and aiming at the best designs: he consequently was both in mind and countenance, and in all his words and actions, open, generous, and noble. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, as the necessary consequence of his wickedness, is said to have always had dissimulation in his countenance, insincerity and darkness in his speech, and malevolence in his heart. For, in proportion as he himself lost all title to real glory, he became most meanly envious of others; so that all the honours, which *they* acquired, offended him.

GERMANICUS was compassionate to the unhappy, and kind even to his rivals. He was faithful and brave himself in the service of his country. He honoured all the living and dead

* Vid. *SUETON*, in *Calig.* 2.

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who had been so. *Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulchra cognosceret, inferias manibus dabat. Cæforum Varianorum præsertim reliquias colligere & tumulo condere primus aggressus est.* I recollect with pleasure your sentiments upon the subject, my good pupil. On your journey through *Westphalia*, in the neighbourhood of *Paderborn*, you visited that spot.

IF I be not mistaken, replied *Crito's* pupil, turning the conversation, and pointing to the busts of *Trajan**, that emperor acted in the same noble and generous manner. In a french history of his life, which I lately read, it is remarked, that *Trajan fit elever un autel, en memoire de ceux qui étoient tués dans les combats; & y fonda des sacrifices annuels.* But pray proceed to the other parts of *Germanicus's* character.

AT the hazard of his own life, continued *Crito*, *Germanicus* was loyal to *Tiberius*, his adoptive father; although he was in continual danger of destruction from his malice, and almost sure of obtaining the imperial power, had he been inclined to wrest it from the possessor. *Legiones impera-*

* *Amendue i busti di Trajano sono di un perfetto lavoro, & somigliantissimi con le medaglie, amendue di marmo bianco, ed il primo e tutto di un pezzo.* Museo Capitolino, p. 49.

tothem Tiberium recusantes, & sibi summum imperium deferentes compescuit; incertum majore constantiâ an pietate. These legions were the army on the *Rhine*; *robur imperii, & vi suâ cuncta tracturum.* How different was this noble spirit of *Germanicus*, from that *ignavia*, of which *Velleius Paterculus* so injuriously accuses him!

BUT, to proceed in the contrast between his character, and that of *Tiberius*. *Tiberius*, by degrees, came to have scarce any object, but that of mean self-love, and false ambition; to have no affection for any person; to be suspicious and fearful of all. And yet,—wretched fruit of such a temper!—this tyrant was continually admitting the worst of men to his society and favour; and continually busied in the horrid work of persecuting and murdering his near relations, as well as the most innocent and worthy of his subjects.

GERMANICUS was always inclined to benignity and goodness; mild and forgiving to his slanderers; supporting affronts with true magnanimity and patience; and with the greatest generosity saving the lives, even of his most determined enemies. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, grew more hard-hearted and cruel; and became insti-
gated

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gated by such mean malevolence towards all his fellow-creatures, as at last, in the bitterness of his malice, to repeat that diabolical line,

Εμὲ θανόντῳ, γαίᾳ μιγδῆτω πυρὶ.

A SENTIMENT, the wickedness of which could be imitated only by himself, or by a Nero*. But let us hasten from a train of thought so truly dreadful. From such a hell, *Libera nos, Domine!*

THIS last expression of *Crito* was occasioned by the accidental circumstance, that happened while he was yet speaking. The monks of *Ara Cæli* were at that instant crossing the *Capitoline* area in procession, singing the litany. Their chaunt was heard distinctly in the museum. The company went to the balcony in the *Sala Grande*, to see the procession; and then, at the desire of the young nobleman, walked down the stone stair-case.

* * *

AT the bottom of the stair-case is a small paved court, adorned with a fountain. In the midst of

* *Nero's* sentiment was, if possible, still more infernal: *Repetente enim quodam hoc carmen: immo, inquit Εμὲ θανόντῳ. Shakspeare* has placed the same horrid wish in the mouth of a similar tyrant, *Macbeth*.

I wish the state of the world were now undone!

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this fountain is placed a colossal antique statue, representing, if we may trust common opinion, the river *Rhine*. This statue is generally known by the name of *Marforio*; probably on account of it's having been once a principal ornament of the adjoining *forum*, and temple of *Mars* *.

PERHAPS, said the young nobleman, this statue may bear some relation to the history of *Germanicus*. Pere Bougeant says, that *Germanicus* adorned the temple of *Mars the revenger*†, with the ornaments of his triumph, and the spoils of Germany. Possibly this figure of the *Rhine* might be then placed there. I know not on what authority pere Bougeant's history is founded; but I think *Tacitus* speaks of a triumphal arch, built within a stone's cast of this forum, expressly on account of these german victories‡. Is it not probable, that the romans might then have placed this statue of the *Rhine* before the temple of their idols, as a permanent

* The forum of *Augustus* stood nearly adjoining to the *Capitol*: in the middle of this forum was the temple of *Mars the revenger*.

See *Donati's Roman Antiquities*, book ii. ch. 22.

† *Histoire d'Allemagne*, livre ii. p. 205. *Germanicus mit pied à terre, quitta sa robe triumpnale, & sacrifia à Jupiter plusieurs taureaux blancs: il porta ensuite au temple de Mars le vengeur les ornemens du triomphe, & les depouilles des germains.*

‡ *Fine anni dicatur arcus, propter ædem Saturni, ob recepta signa, cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii.*

Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.

On

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manent emblem of their victories, after having dragged it, as it were captive, through their streets? It seems a confirmation of this conjecture, that *Tacitus*, in describing the triumph of *Germanicus*, says expressly, *Vecta simulacra fluminum* *.

SUCH indeed, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, was, on many occasions, the haughty pride of the *romans*. But with respect to *Germany*, their boasts of victory were not only arrogant, but also void of foundation. Often did they pretend to triumph over *Germany*: whereas, in fact, this mighty river, the *Rhine*, was the impassable boundary, the *ne plus ultra* of the *roman* empire.

On the foundations of this temple of *Saturn*, adjoining to the forum of *Augustus*, the church of *St. Adrian* in *Campo vaccino* now stands. Close by which church, this statue of the *Rhine* lay on the ground, neglected, during many of the middle ages. It has been but lately removed to the *Capitol*.

At the distance of some few yards from the church of *St. Adrian*, is a triumphal arch, inscribed to *Severus*; probably built on the very spot of *Germanicus's* or *Tiberius's* triumphal arch; and, possibly, composed in a great measure of it's materials. It might even be imagined, without any very great appearance of absurdity, that it is the same identical arch, without any other alteration than that of the inscription. The sculptures on it seem very applicable to the history of *Germanicus's* campaigns: particularly the naval expeditions, and the reliefs of the four river-gods *sopra gli archi collateral*i; two of which may perhaps represent the *Elbe* and *Rhine*, and the other two, which are younger, and without beards, the *Ems* and *Weser*.

* *Tacit.* Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.

IT is true, that *Germanicus*, and his father *Druſus*, extended the ravages of war acroſs it's ſtreams; and made the banks of the *Ems*, the *Weſer*, and the *Elbe*, the theatre of ſome of their campaigns. One of their officers, I think, even paſſed the *Elbe**; yet theſe campaigns, bloody and deſtructive as they were, produced no ſettled conqueſts. After much ſlaughter and toil, after many viciffitudes of defeat and victory, the *romans* found themſelves obliged to fall back again to the *Rhine*.

THE *Rhine* continued, ever afterwards, the limit of their dominion. This is generally attributed to the wiſe policy and ſtate-maxims of ſome of the emperors. But there were manifeſtly other reaſons for it. *Rome* was able, and therefore willing, to extend her dominion in the weſt, beyond the great boundary of the ocean; and to penetrate even to the *ſilures* and *brigantes*: but ſhe was never able to ſubdue the warlike inhabitants of *Weſtphalia* and *Hanover*. I recollect *Florus's* obſervation on this ſubject. *Imperium, quod non ſteterat in littore oceani, ſtabat in ripâ fluminis Rheni*: it might be added, *ſemper ſtetit*. How much muſt ſome of our *faxon* anceſtors have exulted in this thought!

* *L. Domitius exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetratâ Germaniâ, quam quiſquam priorum.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 44.

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THE conversation now was changed, for some minutes, into a panegyric on the heroism and fortitude of the *german* nations. It soon, however, returned to the character of *Germanicus*.

I REMEMBER, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, that, when at *Cologne*, I employed a long afternoon, in the study of those campaigns of *Germanicus*, which are described in *Tacitus's* *Annals*.

IN the morning, I had been for several hours walking about that old city, and viewing with much pleasure the magazine of antique *roman* arms in the *Stadt-house**, and the bas-reliefs of the head of *Germanicus* on the walls of some of the public buildings. After dinner I went up into my chamber, the windows of which commanded an extensive prospect across the *Rhine*; I sat down in the window seat, and turned over several parts of the first two books of *Tacitus*.

SOMETIMES I cast my eyes across the river, and imagined I saw *Agrippina* standing at the foot of the bridge: sometimes I looked up the stream towards *Bonn*, and recollected *Germanicus's* fide-

* *Pococke* observes, that these arms are very similar to those, which he had seen in an old *roman* arsenal, at *Beer*, on the *Euphrates*.

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lity there to *Tiberius*: at other times I looked down the stream, and thought of *Germanicus's* laborious campaigns in *Friesland* and *Embsen*.

IN reading the history of these campaigns, I met with several passages, which, from a want of practice in the style of *Tacitus*, and from my extreme ignorance in the art of war, ancient as well as modern, I could not understand. The obscurity was increased by the great changes, which since *Tacitus's* time have happened, in the countries near the mouths of the *Rhine*.

IF you please, said *Crito*, we will at present turn our thoughts from *Germanicus's* military history. His warlike achievements gained him indeed great reputation at *Rome*; yet we must own, that, as in the military history of *Drusus*, *Scipio*, and other *roman* heroes, so likewise in this of *Germanicus*, there are many things, that are really the objects of horror, not of admiration.—*Quinquaginta millium spatium, ferro flammisque pervastavit: non sexus, non ætas, miserationem attulit* *. — *Insisterent cædibus; nil opus captivis; solam internecionem gentis finem bello fore* †.

SHUTTING our eyes to these scenes of warlike cruelty, the perpetual disgrace of *roman* heroism;

* *Annalium*, lib. i. c. 51.

† *Annal.* lib. ii. c. 21.

let us contemplate *Germanicus* in another, and far more pleasing light.

So saying, *Crito* turned from the figure of the *Rhine*, and walked into the adjoining portico.

* * *

AT the end of the portico, fronting the staircase, is a room called the *Canopus*. It is adorned with about a dozen *egyptian* sculptures, executed in a manner remarkably elegant.

THE company passed a quarter of an hour in that room; during which time their conversation naturally fell upon the history of *Egypt*.

IN the middle of the same portico, fronting the gate, stand two *egyptian* statues, of a much larger size, and to all appearance of much greater antiquity. One of them bears on it's head a kind of *corona turrita*; holds in it's right hand the roll of a book, and in it's left a palm-branch: several hieroglyphic characters are engraved on it's side.

THE study of the *egyptian* history, said *Crito*, would be a very amusing employment to persons resident at *Rome*, were there at present in this city any *coptite* or *abyssinian* priest, capable of
B b 4 explaining

explaining the hieroglyphic language ; in the same manner as the learned *Hermapion*, whose book on that subject is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* *. If such were the case, perhaps we might find, from these hieroglyphic characters, that the person represented by this statue was the most glorious, the most beneficent of conquerors, the royal *Osiris*: *Osiris*, the builder of cities ; the patron of agriculture, of learning, and of all the arts of peace,

My pupil's vision of the genius of the obelisk, has turned my thoughts, since I heard it, to the history of *Egypt*. One morning, in the latter end of last week, I took up the first book of *Diodorus Siculus* ; and read, with much pleasure, the account of king *Osiris's* expeditions.

THAT account seems, at first view, a mere romance ; but perhaps *you*, dear sir, continued *Crito*, turning to the eldest of his young friends, might have been able to extract from it some important doctrines of true political wisdom.

IF we suppose the prince of a civilized country to have any concerns with savage and barbarous nations, what better or wiser plan of policy can

* See *Ammianus Marcellinus's* History of *Constantius*. Book 17.

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he lay down for himself, than the grand outlines of *Osiris's* conduct? To become, not so much the formidable enemy, as the real friend of barbarians; not to invade, and consequently force them to learn the *arts* of war, but to communicate to them the far happier arts of peace; to introduce among them the blessings of civilized life; to instruct them in agriculture; to enlighten their minds with useful knowledge, and bless them with the purest doctrines of piety and morality.

HAPPY would it have been for the *roman* empire, if *Augustus* and his successors had followed, far as they were able, this wholesome plan of policy, in regard to the *german* nations. Happy would it have been, if *Germanicus* had been sent to the banks of the *Wefer* and *Elbe*, not in the character of a dreadful *roman* general, a severe, though excellent master in the art of war;* but rather in a character similar to that of *Osiris's* lieutenant, *Triptolemus*.

How rejoiced would *Germanicus* have been, in an employment so suitable to the goodness of his heart! With what pleasure would he have instructed the barbarians, to till their soil, to drain

* *Diriguntur acies, non, ut olim apud germanos, vagis incursibus, aut dijectas per catervas: quippe longâ adversus nos militiâ insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.* Tacit, Ann. lib. ii. c. 45.

their

their marshes, and to clear those vast forests, with which *Germany* was then covered!

HAD such a plan of policy been followed, it is probable the *germans* would have been much more happy: for thus they might have partaken the benefits of a civilized life, without being corrupted or enslaved by luxury: and it is also very probable, that *Rome* would never have been destroyed by the inundations of the *german* nations. Against their fierceness, the plough would have been a much better weapon, than the *roman* sword.

IN fact, we find the dreadful inundations of the north never to have ceased, till agriculture, civilization, and other sciences were introduced into that quarter. While the northern nations depended on hunting for their subsistence, they perpetually found their vast regions too narrow for their numbers: but, upon applying themselves to agriculture, they found the same extent of country amply capable of supporting them, even had their multitudes been increased an hundred fold.

* * *

THE conversation now imperceptibly wandered to the account given by *Tacitus* of *Germanicus's* travels

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travels into *Egypt*; and of his voyage up the *Nile*, from the town of *Canopus*, to the great city of *Osiris*, the hundred-gated *Thebes* *.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, that, while reading in *England* this part of *Tacitus*, I frequently consulted *Pococke's* travels into the *East*, and *Norden's* late voyage on the *Nile* from the ruins of *Alexandria* up to those of *Luxor* and *Carnac*. Since our arrival at *Rome*, I vainly please myself with the fancy of having here met with a memorial of *Germanicus's* visit to *Thebes*. On the *Lateran* obelisk, which, if I be not mistaken, was originally a *principal* ornament of that great *egyptian* metropolis, I think I discovered one day, when the sun shone remarkably favourable on that part, several *roman* characters; being the first five or six letters of *Germanicus's* name, engraven sideways among, or rather across, the hieroglyphics. Allowing me to indulge this fancy, it is probable, that these letters might be thus engraved by *Germanicus's* order, while at *Thebes*, as a memorial of his journey thither; in the same manner as, according to *Pococke* and *Norden*, many other *roman* and *greek* names are inscribed on the feet of *Memnon's* statue.

* Annal. lib. ii. c. 60.

BUT

BUT I must not trouble you any longer with a conjecture, which, if not wholly void of foundation, certainly is but trifling. Let me rather desire my tutor to continue his delineation of the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

* * *

IN order to place in a stronger light the comparison of these characters, replied *Crito*, it may not be an improper method to consider *Germanicus*, as we are now doing, during his travels through those parts of the world, which were at that time most famous, either for the ancient, or for the actual merit of their inhabitants.

GERMANICUS travelled with the greatest continual pleasure, because with continued innocence; and with a fixed intention to learn, and practise goodness, in every place.

GERMANICUS, according to the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, a doctrine, my dear pupil, worthy the notice of every young traveller to *Italy*, *Mæzus* Σειρηων ἡδὺς ηγεῖτο.

GERMANICUS, in visiting and examining the venerable antiquities of *Greece*, *Asia*, and
Egypt,

Egypt, satisfied a very laudable curiosity: it might have been wished, however, that, before he went into *Egypt*, he had not forgotten to ask *Tiberius's* permission for making that tour.

GERMANICUS respected the inhabitants of those celebrated countries, for the sake of their ancestors. And, being invested with a great share in the government, he constantly, in some degree like the great and good *Osiris*, made it his business, in all countries through which he passed, to take that opportunity of establishing the public tranquillity, order, and plenty; appeasing, to his utmost, all discords, and relieving every oppression, whether foreign or domestic*.

———— Φίλῳ δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι,
Πάντας γὰρ Φιλεσκέεν.

IN contrast with this affability and beneficence of *Germanicus*, let us consider *Tiberius*, the absolute monarch of the vast *roman* empire, absconding even from *Rome*. Most part of the latter end of his reign he passed in a small island, about two hundred miles distant from this city.

* *Provincias, internis certaminibus, aut magistratum injuriis fessas, refovebat. Annal. lib. ii. c. 54. Levavit apertis horreis pretia frugum. Ibid. c. 59. Alexandriam adiit, propter imensam ac repentinam famem. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 52.*

During

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During the last eleven years of his life, he never once entered his own palace; never set foot in the *roman* forum; never ascended the *Capitoline* hill: *gravatus aspectum civium.*

IF one of the humble lay-brothers of the adjoining convent of *Ara Cæli* were now to overhear this part of our conversations, he would probably, by his charity, be induced to please himself with the imagination, that *Tiberius*, in his old age, might have chosen that retreat, from *penitential* motives. Many a true penitent, he might say, has retired from the pomps of the world, to rocky deserts, and solitary islands, there to give himself up to such religious compunction, as produced amendment of life: thus, after many years of bitter sorrow, lightening the load of the heart; and chearing it gradually with some humble hopes of mercy; some gleaming ray, at least, of true felicity.

FAR otherwise, alas! with *Tiberius*: his purposes of retirement had nothing holy in them. It was originally owing partly to the artifice of his prime minister; partly to his own *worldly* sense of conscious shame: *Pudore scelerum, & libidinum.* At *Rome* he sometimes could not avoid hearing *voces illas, veras & graves, & probra, quibus*
per

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per occultum lacerabatur. Sometimes he was even reproached to his face for the vilest actions.

IN choosing the *place of his solitude*, *Tiberius* showed no symptoms of a heart touched with any penitential sense of it's crimes *. Innocence might have properly delighted itself in a retreat like *Capreae*: but a true penitent would never have been curious in selecting so delightful a spot, or have thought himself worthy of such an habitation.

“AND yet,” our monk might add, “although pleasantness of situation is a circumstance by no means suitable to the just idea of a penitential retirement, it is nevertheless possible, that *Tiberius* might employ his time well there. I know little of his history, notwithstanding my bare feet every day tread this hill, which, as I have heard, was once a principal part of the city. Such kind of history is not indeed our study; which chiefly regards the piety of those happy men, who have consecrated by their retirements the deserts of *Scete*, and dignified the mountains of *Alverno* and *Chartreuse*. Pray inform me, what were

* *Insula in Favonium obversa, & aperto circum pelago peramæna; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret.*

Tacit., Annal. lib. iv. c. 67.

Tiberius's

Tiberius's frame of mind, and manner of life in his solitude?"—Let me anticipate your reply :

"*Malum otium,—luxus,—libido,—sævitia.*"

"Were these worst of devils the constant possessors of his soul?"

"THEY seem to have been so; except when, at intervals, conscience, arising in all her blackest terrors, astonished him, overwhelmed him, almost drove him mad. *Non enim illum fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse pœnas fateretur. Ad senatum enim his verbis orsus est epistolam, "Quid scribam vobis, "patres conscripti, hoc tempore, aut quomodo "scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, Di me, "Deæque pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie "sentio, si scio." Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus & ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur*.*"

BUT why, continued Crito, should I imagine myself talking on this subject with one of the in-

* TACIT, *Annal.* lib. vi. c. 6.

habitants of the adjoining convent? It is with you, my fellow travellers, that I am *really* conversing.

YOU will soon, from the key and mole of *Naples*, behold that unhappy island, which is become eternally infamous by the perpetrations of it's diabolical inhabitant, *Tiberius*. You will see it in every airing you take towards the suburbs of *Pausilypo*, or *Maddalena*: but never will you have any desire to make a nearer approach to it, or to set your feet on it's contaminated shore.

*Effugimus scopulos Ithacæ, Laertia regna;
Et terram altricim sævi execramur Ulyssis*.*

IN the same environs of *Naples*, you will perhaps see other terrific objects: I mean, the horrors of the neighbouring volcanoes, which frequently burst forth in roaring rivers of liquid fire, in clouds of darkness, and showers of flaming brimstone.

THESE horrors you will observe with awe, if an eruption of mount *Vesuvius* should happen while you are at *Naples*. At all other times, your eyes will be charmed with the serenity and sweet-

ÆNEID iii. 272.

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ness of the landscapes, the truly *elysian* fields, on the *neapolitan* coast; that coast, which in general, according to the proverb, *e un pezzo di ciel, caduto in terra* *. A young poet, indeed, after filling his mind with the ideas of *Pindar* or *Virgil*, might represent that coast as an emblem of the regions of the blessed: but never, I believe, did any man, of the plainest education, look upon *Vesuvius*, during an eruption, without almost instantaneously considering it as an emblem, or rather as a visible type, of hell.

YET, alas! how great the difference! The conflagration of that hill, however horrid, is not an unquenchable flame; *that is not an everlasting fire.*

No wonder, that guilty minds should deeply feel the presentiments of their future, unspeakable misery.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, a passage in *Plutarch*, very applicable to your present topic†.

But

* "A patch of Heaven, dropped down upon the earth."

† Οὐτὸ μακαριὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ νομιζέται,
Ἐπὶ δ' ἀνοίξῃ τὰς θύρας, τρισαδλιῶ.

Ἡ ἑαυτὴ κακία αὖτις συνοικῶσα τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ προσπεφυκυῖα νυκτὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν,

Ἐπὶ αἰτέσθαι, καὶ ὡμῶν γῆραι δάκνει.

Ka+

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But there is no occasion to quote learned writers, for those sentiments, which are most loudly expressed by the voice of universal nature. The illiterate and the learned, the rich and the poor, the high and low, are all alike exposed to the irresistible influence of conscience. With what attention, my dear young friends, have we often observed in *England* a large audience, composed of the most different ranks and kinds of men; all, in deep silence, listening to those scenes of *Shakespeare*, in which the terrours of conscience are exemplified! I mean, particularly, the conclusion of the tragedies of *Richard the Third*, and *Macbeth*.

*Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!
Oh, the affliction of those terrible dreams,
That shake us nightly! Better be with the dead,
Than on such torture of the mind to lie.
Oh! full of scorpions is my mind.—I'm fill'd with
horror!*

IN this respect, the castle of *Dunfinane* seems strongly to have resembled the palace of *Tiberius* in *Caprea*.

Και γὰρ ὁ καθευδῶν, τῇ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ὑπνῷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναπαύσει, τῆς δὲ
ψυχῆς εὐλοῖαι καὶ οὐεῖραι καὶ ταραχαὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν. Πῶς τοῖνυν τὸ ὕδν
τῆς κακίας ἐστίν, εἰ μὴδαμὲν τὸ ἀμερμήνον, μὴδ' ἀταραξίαν, μὴδε πονυχίαν.
Plutarch, Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.

* * *

If you please, said *Crito*, we will resume our classical studies. My own conscience also presses too hard, to enable me to continue these moral reflections. May Heaven have mercy on us all!

SPEAKING these words, *Crito* turned round, and with a slow and pensive step walked across the *Capitoline* area, to the opposite building, the *Palazzo Dei Conservatori*.

IN the court of this building, on the left hand, against the wall, stands a large stone urn; on which is the following inscription, in characters very deeply cut :

OSSA

AGRIPPINÆ, M. AGRIPPÆ, DIVI AUGUSTI
NEPTIS, UXORIS GERMANICI, &c.

THE young gentlemen, after having for some time surveyed this sepulchral urn with melancholy pleasure, gave their attention to *Crito*; who with a down-cast look proceeded as follows.

IF we consider the domestic life of *Germanicus*, we shall find him in that, as well as in other parts of his character, infinitely more respectable, and infinitely more happy, than *Tiberius*.

TIBERIUS

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TIBERIUS was, indeed, in his earlier years, a good brother; the temper of *Drusus* being perhaps irresistibly amiable: but he afterwards became an enemy to all his family; he was a bad son; and a cruel husband, to a wicked wife.

GERMANICUS, on the contrary, seems to have practised many of the virtues, and to have enjoyed many of the felicities of a family-life. He began by being a good brother, and a good son; and afterwards, in the usual progress of such a character, became a good father.

BUT let me desire you, at present, to consider him in his *conjugal* station.

THE dignity and happiness of *Germanicus* were both very considerably increased, by his marriage with *Agrippina*.

THE character of *Agrippina* would have been far more amiable, if to her many other virtues she had added a greater degree of meekness and humility; if she had been less sensible of the high quality of her family, and of her own real merit. But, standing as we now are before *that* urn, which probably for many centuries contained her ashes, let us do justice, and pay due tribute to her very respectable memory, by owning, that,

among the matrons of heathen *Rome*, *Agrippina*, notwithstanding every defect, was one of the brightest examples of conjugal virtue.

SHE attained that dignity of character, partly by her own native goodness; partly by the aid and influence of her beloved husband's example.

CRITO now paused for some moments, to wipe away the tears that stood in his eyes, and which really hindered him from reading his paper of notes.

IN her arms, continued *Crito* with a sigh, *Germanicus* expired. With her alone had he passed through life from his earliest years: for he enjoyed the great happiness of marrying early; and of thus soon blessing both himself and his parents, with the sight of no less than six of his children.

O MY noble young friend! You who so frequently inquire after proper subjects in the *roman* story, on which you may employ some of the painters, whether *english* or *italian*, now in this city; what subject can you find, either more pleasing, or more instructive, than the scene of *Augustus*, placed on his imperial seat, and enacting the laws against celibacy, which at that time, in a manner much more destructive than
any

civil war, was wasting and extirpating the greatest families in *Rome**? Seated in that state, and perhaps on *this very hill*, he directed, that his great grand-children, the offspring of *Germanicus*, should be brought into his presence. He then, in sight of the whole senate, took up some of these little ones in his arms; others he placed on the knees of the young prince their father; and, with the happy and amiable pride of a parent, showed to the assembly all these, *his treasures*; inviting the young nobility of *Rome* to be sensible of such happiness, and hasten to follow the example of his *Germanicus*. *Ne gravarentur imitari juvenis exemplum*†.

SUCH was *Germanicus*, when he had scarcely completed his twenty-fourth year. — Compare with this charming spectacle some parts of the character of *Tiberius*.

BUT, indeed, the contrast now grows far too dismal and horrid for description, either by pen

* The young reader is most earnestly referred on this occasion, to the beginning of the fifty-sixth book of *Dio Cassius*, p. 573—578. He is desired also to consult *Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 20.—*Tacit.* lib. iii. c. 25, and *Freinshem.* lib. lix. c. 53, with it's note.

Augustus libros totos, & senatui recitavit, & populo notos per editum sæpe fecit: ut orationes Q. Metelli, de prole augendâ, & Rutilii de modo ædificiorum; quo magis persuaderet utramque rem, non à se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse. Sueton. Augustus, 89.

† Sueton, in *August.* 34.

or pencil. It's horrors are greatly augmented by the consideration, that *Tiberius's* enormous wickedness was continued to his old age. For, as I before observed, he seems never to have attempted to wash away, with bitter tears, the black and dismal crimes, of which he had been guilty.

No wonder, that so soon as the death of this vilest of tyrants was publicly known, the universal hatred and detestation of his memory should break forth, with the greatest indignation and fury. No wonder, that, in all the streets which surround this hill, the populace should be crying out, with the loudest clamours; some, that his vile corpse, as unworthy of sepulture, should be cast into the river; *Tiberius in Tiberim*: others, that it should with all ignominy be dragged from the palace-gates to the *public gibbet*; or exposed, like the bodies of other *far less guilty* malefactors, on the *Scalæ Gemoniæ**.

BUT let us not think any longer on this hateful subject.

As a relief from the dishonourable conclusion of *Tiberius's* infamous existence, let us turn our eyes again to the history of *Germanicus*.

* SUTTON, *Vita Tiberii*, c. 74.

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WITH what pleasure, my dear fellow-travellers, did you, while at *Lyons*, visit the pleasant hill, and survey the magnificent prospect, of *Antiquaille & Forviere**; the place where *Germanicus*, though I know not on what authority, is said to have been born! With what affection also did you yesterday visit the place of his *sepulture*, in the *Campo Marzo*! From his cradle indeed to his grave, the character of *Germanicus* was almost ever amiable, as well as respectable.

Virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit: maxime probatus & dilectus a suis: dilectus etiam ab omnibus, in vitâ; & multò magis in morte, & post mortem†.

HIS reputation was so great, as to have gained him multitudes of friends and admirers, even in countries which he had never seen. *Flebant Germanicum, etiam ignoti.*

MUCH stronger, probably, were the love and veneration of those, who had really felt and been made happy by his goodness. The provincials of whom he had been governor; the allies of the *roman* empire, to whom he had been a very bene-

* Perhaps a corruption of the words *Antiquum palatium fori veteris.*

† SUTTON, in Vit. Calig. 4.

volent general and commander; even the enemies of *Rome*, to whom, after the horrors of the campaign were passed, he had been a merciful conqueror;—all these cordially joined in honouring the memory, and lamenting the fate, of *Germanicus*.

BUT with respect to *Italy*, and to *Rome*, the sincere and zealous affection born to *Germanicus* while alive, and the general grief, desolation, and even despair, which attended, and long followed his departure; *these* were, in all respects, so very great, as far to exceed any power of description: nay, even were the *genius of this place* to inspire us, whom you, my dear poetic pupil, may suppose, to be now hovering over and protecting this urn of *Agrippina*.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus,
Tam chari capitis? Præcipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene! cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum citharâ dedit*.*

IF, my dear fellow-travellers, continued *Crito*, after a pause, if in our *Levant* travels, we should ever pitch our tent amidst the ruins of *Antioch*; shall we not then, among many other subjects of

HORAT. lib. i. od. 24.

meditation,

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meditation, recollect the death of *Germanicus*? Shall we not there bestow some serious thoughts on the scene of his last hour?

YET, let me observe, that this scene would have been far more noble, if *Germanicus* had not even at such a period excited his friends to *revenge* his death. With a trembling voice let me add, that his virtue would have been far more perfect, if, like *St. Stephen*, or like some HOLIER PERSON, who was then living in sacred retirement, in the neighbouring province of *Galilee*, he had expired, blessing and praying for his murderers.

BUT let us not at present carry our thoughts so far as to *eastern* travels. In the course of our short intended tour through the kingdom of *Naples*, we shall see several places, that will strongly remind us of the death of *Germanicus*.

DURING that tour, you will certainly pass some days at *Brindisi*. While you, my dear pupil, are walking in the thick olive groves, with which that fertile coast is covered, and viewing from them the two famous *horns* of that spacious haven; will you not be frequently inclined to recollect *Tacitus's* description of *Agrippina*, landing at that port, with the urn of *Germanicus* in her hands?
and

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and must not that recollection awaken in your mind some ideas of a sweet poetic melancholy?

IN your return from *Brindisi* to the northern parts of *Italy*, particularly at *Terracina*, you will call to mind the great public love, admiration, and grief, which followed the urn of *Germanicus* from *Brundisium*, through all the provinces of *Italy*, to his grave at *Rome*.

I AM the more inclined to believe, that you will be strongly affected with this recollection, as in your journey through *France*, particularly when you were in the neighbourhood of *Strasbourg*, you often re-perused, and sometimes not without tears of pleasure, the descriptions given by the *french* historians of that public love and veneration, which attended the corpse of *Turenne*, through all the cities and provinces of that great kingdom, to the royal mausoleum at *St. Dennis*.

I REMEMBER too the pleasure you expressed at the similar public respect, which was paid in our own country to the memory of our late youthful hero, general *Wolfe*. What address did any city or county then present to the throne of *Great Britain*, in which general *Wolfe's* name was not mentioned, with terms of the greatest praise and love? I remember also your description of
that

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that eloquence, with which the house of commons was then moved to vote, and it was voted *unanimously*, That a monument should be erected to his memory, at the public charge, in *Westminster Abbey*.

BUT through what wanderings of thought have I led you ! Permit me to close my paper of notes, by desiring you to employ some of your first leisure hours, in perusing afresh *Tacitus's* account of the general grief of *Rome* on the death of *Germanicus*. The great strength of sense to be found in that historian will make ample amends for your patience, in listening to whatever may have been the improprieties or follies of my imagination.

IN proof, however, of the utility, that may be derived from the contrast of such characters, as those which I have this day endeavoured to place before your eyes, let me submit to your reflection three or four lines of that great historian.

Exequi insignia per honestum, aut notabili dedecore. Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamiâ metus sit.*

* *Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 65.*

* * *

CRITO having thus concluded the morning's lecture, with a serious countenance folded up his papers, and sat down in silence.

HIS young friends now entered into a warm debate upon some particulars, which he had mentioned towards the conclusion of his lecture.

THE eldest of the gentlemen compared the glorious fate of general *Wolfe* to that of *Epaminondas*; and repeated with energy some expressions of *Valerius Maximus*. *Si cum Di immortales victoriis suis perfrui passi essent, hospes gloriosior patriæ mania non intrasset.*

THE young nobleman recollected several circumstances relative to the death of marshal *Turenne*. He lamented *Drusus* also, cut down in the flower of his age, during his *german* campaign. He then made some remarks on the excellence of that marble bust, which they had just now seen in the *Capitoline* museum, and which represents *Drusus* in the prime of manhood.

YET why, said *Crito's* pupil, should the early death of *Drusus* be lamented? *Drusus* certainly
had

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had the happiness, the greatest happiness, I suppose, which a father can feel, of leaving a son, who excelled him in virtue—a *Germanicus*.

Πατρὸς δ' οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀμείνων.

Both father, indeed, and son died young: but neither of their deaths can be reckoned premature. Let us look only on the family of the *Cæsars*, and compare the short lives of *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, with those of *Caligula* and *Nero*, none of whom survived the thirtieth year of his age; and surely we shall not want a proof, that the height of human glory, as well as the depth of infamy, may be the consequence of the virtues and vices practised within these years.

* * *

THE conversation now took some fresh *detours*: though, amidst the labyrinth of its several wanderings, it still recurred to the proper object of this day's study, the history of *Tiberius's* reign.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen spoke with proper respect of the historian *Cremutius Cordus*; cheerfully repeating on that occasion a few sentences

tences from *Seneca**. He then proceeded with horreur to some of the other cruelties of *Tiberius*, and of that infamy of prime ministers, *Sejanus*.

CRITO mentioned, from *Tacitus*, the banishment of some thousand jews by *Tiberius* into the marshes of *Sardinia*:—*si interirent, vile damnum*. He also cited, from *Philo Judæus*, *Sejanus*'s design of extirpating the whole jewish nation.

CRITO'S pupil, on this occasion, compared *Sejanus* to *Haman*; and following that tract of thought, recollected several verses of *Racine*'s *Esther*, which seemed to him very applicable to the sudden fall of *Sejanus*.

Fai vu l'Impie adoré sur la terre:
Pareil au cedre il cachoit dans les cieux
Son front audacieux.
Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre;
Il fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus.
Je n'ai fait que passer; il n'étoit déjà plus.—
Miserable! Le Dieu vengeur de l'innocence,
Tout prêt à te juger, tient déjà sa balance:
Bientot son juste arrêt te sera prononcé.
Tremble. Ton-jour approche, & ton regne est passé.

* See *Seneca*'s consolation, addressed to *Martia*, the daughter of *Cremutius Cordus*.

le Traître est expiré.
 Par le peuple en fureur à moitié déchiré;
 On traîne, on va donner en spectacle funeste,
 De son corps tout sanglant le misérable reste *.

* * *

THE company now went out of the court of the *Palazzo dei conservatori*. But the fall of *Sejanus* continued to be their topic, while walking down the slope of the *Capitoline* hill, towards the forum.

I HAVE lately, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, been reading *Dion Cassius's* account of the grandeur and fall of that infamous court favourite†.

DION'S reflections, on the vanity of all human pride, strike me at present very strongly; while opposite to us, on the *Palatine* mount, I see the ruins of that building, which *Sejanus* entered, full of pride, and big with the expectation of being that morning invested with the tribunitian power. Close on our right hand is the temple of Concord; in which, on the afternoon of the same day, *Sejanus* was unanimously condemned to death. About

* The above quotations are thrown together, from *Esther*, acte iii. scenes 5, 8, 9.

† *Dio Cassius*, book lviii. p. 623 to 630.

one hundred yards on our left is the prison, in which, *before night*, he was strangled*.

IN that dismal evening, he saw perhaps, from the grates of his cell, the destruction of his statues in *this* forum; and heard the curses of the people from all sides upon his memory.

THE then-felt *vanity* of his excessive honours, riches, and ambitious hopes, together with the consciousness of his horrid crimes, must have greatly embittered the deep distress of his last hour.

*Ergo quid optandum foret, ignorâsse fatendum est
Sejanum: nam qui nimios optabat honores,
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus, & impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ†.*

CRITO'S pupil repeated some verses of *Shakespeare*, relative to cardinal *Wolfsey*. I have often, added he, thought of those verses in passing

* The antique inscription, *now remaining* on the prison walls, was engraven in the ædileship of *Vibius* and *Cocceius Nerva*. They were consuls about four or five years after *Sejanus's* death. See *Abbate Venuti*, vol. i, p. 58. The *Scala Gemoniæ*, where *Sejanus's* body was cast, were situate in that short, crooked, steep lane, which passes by the side of the *Tullian* prison, and leads up to the *Capitol*.

† JUVENAL. *Sat.* x. 103.

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through *Leicester*. We had fresh occasion to recollect them some weeks ago; when we were shown the *Palazzo*, built by that cardinal's orders, here, at *Rome*.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, that when we were at *Milan*, I met with a passage in *St. Austin's* works, which appears very suitable to the topic on which you are now conversing. It is the reflection of a person, who, if I mistake not, was of considerable rank in the court of the *roman* emperor, predecessor to *Theodosius*.

"WITH all the pains we take, what doth our ambition aspire to? What is it we seek, and propose to ourselves?

"CAN we have any greater hopes at court, than to arrive at the favour of the emperor? *Per quot pericula pervenitur ad illud grandius periculum? Et quamdiu istud erit?*

"*Amicus autem DEI, si voluero, ecce, nunc fio.*"

THE conversation now dwelt, for a considerable time, on the outward splendour, but frequent real misery, of a ministerial or court life.

OUR young nobleman, during the discussion, communicated to his friends several very important reflections, which he had heard from his father on these subjects.

THE company returned to their lodgings about dinner-time; but *Crito* made some excuse for not dining with them. He retired to his closet, and it being *saturday* afternoon, applied himself, as usual, to some private studies.

THE object of his meditation was a character, remarkably contrary to the wickedness of this world; contrary as light is to darkness: the character of the austere, pure, and holy *St. John the Baptist*.

IT was about the time of *Sejanus's* death, that *St. John* came preaching in *Judæa* the baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins.

CRITO passed some moments in considering this holy character, compared with those, which are generally found in *king's houses*; but he soon quitted that kind of thought, and began to apply the weighty doctrine of penitence home to his own heart.

WHY

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WHY should he look for faults among other men? He found enow in the recorded memorial of his own actions.

IN deep compunction of mind he *thought thereon, and wept*. He applied himself afresh to the study of the Baptist's life: he afterwards took up the poetical translation of the *Psalter*, lately published at *Arezzo*, by *Peter Rossi*; and perused two or three of the penitential psalms.

HE perused also some part of the copy of verses prefixed to the work; in which the author thus addressees himself to the *hebrew* psalmist.

— *Canendi spiritum mihi impetra,
Tuo refusus qui calebat pectore;
Tuis ut instem proximus vestigiis,
Tuosque sensus, et verenda intelligam
Tuis reposta versibus mysteria.*—
*Id si negetur, et frequenti crimine
Cæcata, mens spectare non tam altum potest;
Placare læsi me doce iram Numinis
Tua æmulantem exempla; et illas intimo
E corde ductas ac salubres lacrymas,
Quibus juventæ tu piasti improvidæ
Errata, et æquum leniisti judicem.
Id si impetrâro, multò erit jucundius,
Quàm si tua æmuler canendo carmina.*

C H A P. V.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the account of yesterday's transactions, no notice was taken of the manner in which the young gentlemen employed their afternoon.

THEY visited the Capitol, with the intention of recollecting in that place part of the morning's lecture. They passed some time there, conversing on the conclusion of *Tiberius's* wicked reign; and afterwards descended into the *Campo Vaccino*.

IN that part of the *roman forum*, which lies between the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, there stands a single marble column, of the *corinthian* order, fluted, and about fifty feet in height.

IT is the opinion of some antiquarians, said the young nobleman, that this column made part of that bridge, which the successor of *Tiberius* built across the *forum*. It may, with more probability perhaps, be supposed to have made part of some of those temples, or porticos, over which that bridge was carried.

I HAVE

I HAVE often thought, that such a bridge, thus joining the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, might be of real and considerable convenience to the public. It probably saved much time, and many a wearisome step, to the industrious inhabitants of this part of *Rome*; which, in the time of *Caligula*, was the most populous, or at least the most frequented,

BUT, alas! far different was the motive of *Caligula*. His design, in the erection of that bridge, was not beneficence to his subjects; but the indulgence of his own most absurd, and impious pride.

IN the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which stood near those three columns of *Jupiter Stator*, *Caligula* frequently seated himself, between the statues of the *Dioscuri*; and from their temple he built the bridge to the Capitol, merely that he might, with more convenience and ease to himself, go often to receive the same horrid adoration in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

As to *Jupiter*, replied *Crito's* pupil, if we consider the history of that king of *Crete*, as given by the poets, we shall not find his character to have been much better than that of *Caligula*.

BUT the inhabitants of the *grecian* and *roman* world, such was the extreme absurdity of paganism, connected with the word *Jupiter* a very different idea; even that of the Great Creator and Preserver of the universe; the Most Beneficent; the Most Holy. Now, if we consider the affair in this light, horrid indeed was the wickedness of *Caligula*, in daring to assume such a name.

I RECOLLECT reading sometime ago, with my tutor, the account given by *Josephus* and *Philo* of *Caligula's* attempt to profane even the temple of *Jerusalem*, by erecting his own statue in it.

To what *incredible* degrees of *madness* may human pride sometimes extend!

A *babylonian* monarch, if I remember rightly, could so far yield to the flattery of his courtiers, as to forbid his subjects offering *any petition*, to *any god or man*, but himself. This *roman* emperor was impious enough to claim even *DIVINE* honours; though he was in reality one of the vilest monsters, that ever disgraced humanity.

O MY dear friends, what a place of horror was then *that Palatine mount*!

Cur

*Cur non apertæ tum fuerunt cælorum cataraetæ?
Cur non rupti erant fontes abyssi magni?**

SURELY, no antediluvian wickedness could be greater, than that of *Caligula's* court.

At least, why did not the *Tiber* then swell, with a ten-fold abundance of torrents, to wash away that *Palatine* hillock, and drown all the *roman campagna* in a broad asphaltic lake; while the *tusculan* and *sabine* mountains poured forth on it their sulphurous materials, by the eruption of an hundred volcanoes?

BUT why should such expressions fall from my lips? Notwithstanding the unutterable abominations of the imperial palace, and great corruption of the public manners, there were doubtless, even during this reign, multitudes in *Rome* of a very different character. Of it's meaner inhabitants several thousands, probably, lived in the faithful practice of the duties of their stations, according to the light of nature. Many, in all likelihood, were the virtuous persons, then engaged in agriculture, commerce, or trade; many honest men were to be found in the professions. Some also, who were blessed by Providence with a more independent fortune, and who, from the kindness

* Vid. Lib. *Genes.* cap. vii. 15.

of their parents, had received a more ornamented education, passed their days happily in studious privacy; masters of their own time, and disposing it to the best purposes, meditation, and works of beneficence. From the vain occupations of this vast city, from the false pleasures, honours, and riches around them, *Recepere se ad tranquilliora, tutiora, majora. Tenuit illos, in hoc genere vitæ, multum bonarum artium, amor virtutum atque usus, cupiditatum oblivio, vivendi atque moriendi scientia, alta rerum quies**.

IN all probability there were also, even in the higher conditions of life, several, who lived in the practice of much moral virtue.

THERE was one eminent example of merit, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, even in the family of *Caligula*: I mean his father-in-law, the wise and good *M. Silanus*. But he could not live there long: he was one of the many persons, who perished by that tyrant's cruelty and ingratitude. *Caianæ cladis erat magna portio.*

YOUR temper, my dear friend, is meekness itself: *χρυσίον σίον*. I use this expression in the

* See *Seneca de brevitate vitæ*: a treatise written, according to *Lipsius*, within some few days after the death of *Caligula*. *Modò, intra paucos illos dies, quibus Caius Cæsar periit, &c.*

same good sense in which *Dion* understood it. But it is no dishonour to such a temper, that it can kindle itself into a proper indignation at the thoughts of that most horrid impiety, that most abominable wickedness, that most bloody despotism, which reigned day and night in the court of *Caligula*.

Hoc isti belluæ quotidianum est: ad hæc vivit, ad hæc vigilat, ad hæc lucubrat.*

EVEN if we were to confine our thoughts to the last article, I mean the *political* considerations, most odious, surely, ought to be the name, and most execrable the memory, of that supreme magistrate, who could wish, "that it were in his power to bid the *axe* fall on the neck of his whole people!"

LET us think no longer on his detested reign. Let us rather reflect with satisfaction, that we are at present only some few steps distant from *that place*, where this tyrant received his due punishment from the hand of *Chærea*;—*Chærea*, the third *Brutus*.

BUT it becomes me immediately to correct that *verbum ardens*. *Caligula* deserved a more severe

* *Seneca de ira*, lib, iii, c. 18,

fate than either *Tarquin*, or *Julius Cæsar*: but *Chærea* stained his glory, by the murder of *Cæsonia*, and her infant daughter: a crime, of which, certainly, neither *Junius* nor *Marcus Brutus* would on any account have been guilty.

I REMEMBER, in my more youthful years, that, on reading the history of *Caligula's* death, I felt much regret at the thought, that such an opportunity for restoring the republic had offered itself in vain. For in vain was it, that the walls of the parliament-house on *that Capitoline* hill then echoed with the cry of liberty. The people crowded to the gates; not as anciently, to applaud the conscript fathers for their zeal in their country's freedom; not, as in other times, to vent their jealous murmurs, at some supposed infringement of the popular privileges; but, to demand the immediate nomination of a new despot.

WHILE at the university, I was not a little heated with democratic notions, and consequently felt myself highly shocked at this astonishing instance of *roman* degeneracy. But, as my admiration of *republican* liberty in particular is since that time very much cooled, though my zeal for liberty in general will I hope always burn with due fervour and flame; so likewise is my indignation against the *romans*, for their behaviour on this

this occasion, somewhat abated. The *roman* people had too much reason to remember the bloody history of the former civil wars. They had equal reason to fear, that the dissensions in the senate, and the disobedience of the army, might soon, if a new emperor were not immediately elected, produce a renewal of the same calamities; calamities which after much confusion and anarchy, much misery and blood-shed, would certainly terminate as the former had done, in the establishment only of a new absolute master.

BESIDES, there was another motive for their conduct: a motive in itself inexcusable, but which operated without resistance. The *origo mali* lay deep in the constitution of their hearts, but necessarily showed it's virulence by these exterior symptoms. Vice had so much weakened and enfeebled all the nerves and muscles, if we may so speak, of the *national roman* mind, as to render it neither worthy, nor susceptible, of the labours and perils of any kind of liberty.

THE city of *Rome*, replied the young nobleman, was indeed at that time corrupted by vice, in a much more dreadful manner than ever it had been by any pestilence. For, notwithstanding the charitable suppositions of our good friend here, certainly the imperial court, the nobility, the people,

ple, breathed forth infernal contagion on each other.

HORRID as was the character of *Caligula*, yet his crimes would not have been so enormous, had he ruled over a better nation.

MUCH of his wickedness may perhaps be attributed to the insanity of his understanding: but more to the badness of his heart, and to the examples among which he lived.

BUT let us not confine our attention to his enormous crimes. If we could banish *them* totally from our memory, I might then venture to consider *other* parts of his character in a cooler manner; and apply to them some reflections, with which I remember your tutor favoured us upon a former occasion.

HE observed*, that the folly and vice, the pride and cruelty, which shock us in reading some parts of the *roman* history, are only the extremes of that abuse, which we *see* every day made, of less degrees of wealth and power.

I REMEMBER also my father's observing to me, that many young men of fortune in our own coun-

* See page 334, of the first volume.

try,

try, while reading *Caligula's* reign, look on it's contents as almost incredible: yet, happy ought they to esteem themselves, if in their future life some of them do not become really of a very similar character; that is to say, so far as their inferior degrees of wealth and power will permit. In a word, though innocent of his enormous crimes, they may yet become *Caligulas* in miniature: bad in domestic life; hating their aged relations; living in intimacy with gamesters, jockeys, and stage-players; proud; luxurious; fickle; impiously ungrateful to heaven for all it's blessings; lavishing their fortunes in various kinds of folly; and then from want oppressing their tenants, and other dependants*.

BUT let us quit this topic. If you incline to take a little tour in the coach this evening, it shall carry us round the *Cælian* hill, and thence home by the *Strada Felice*.

CRITO'S pupil, and his other companion, readily consented to the proposal of their noble friend.

ON several parts of the *Cælian* hill they observed many lofty arches of a ruined aqueduct.

* See *Dio's Caligula*, Χρηματα αφιδεστα αυτησις, κ' ευπαρωτατα ηργυρολογει.

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THAT aqueduct, said the young nobleman, if I be not mistaken, was begun in the second year of *Caligula's* reign: for thanks to Providence, some good is done to mankind even by the worst of men*. It was finished by *Claudius*; as appears by the inscription still remaining over the *Porta Maggiore*. As the *Strada Felice* is not very far from that gate, we may, if you please, tell the coachman to drive thither.

THE *Porta Maggiore* is a stately monument†, erected by the emperor *Titus*, in memory of the great work of the *Claudian* aqueduct. Over it's arches are three inscriptions, the upper one of which is as follows.

Ti. Claudius Drusi. f. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pontif. Maxim. Tribunitiâ potestate xii. Cos. v. Imperator xxvii. Pater Patriæ, aquas Clau-

* *Quid Nerone pejus?*

Quid thermis melius Neronianis? Mart.

† Quest' edificio è uno de' più belli dell' antica Roma; ed è di altezza e di grossezza più di ogni altro singolare. E fabbricato di macigni di travertino congiunti insieme senza calce; sostenuto da quattro grandi archi con colonne alla rustica d'ordine Ionico.—Per comprendere di qual magnificenza sianò gli archi di questo monumento basta sapere che quello, che in oggi forma la porta ha di lunghezza palmi 49, e ciascun pezzo di travertino è grosso palmi 3 once 3 lungo palmi 9 once 5, e taluno 2½ ed è composta tutta l'alta, e vasta arcata di soli 26 pezzi di pietra.

Abbate Venuti, v. p. 124, 125.

diam.

diam ex fontibus, qui vocantur Cæruleus et Curtius, a milliar. xxxv. item Anienem novum, a milliar. lxii. suâ impensâ, in urbem perducendas curavit.

THE two inscriptions subjoined to this are in honour of *Vespasian* and *Titus*. Each of these emperors thought it an honour to repair or improve this aqueduct.

IT is observed, said the young nobleman, I think either by *Suetonius* or *Aurelius Victor*, that *Vespasian* repaired several of *Claudius's* works, and also completed that temple on *Monte Cælio*, which was erected in his honour; but which had been ungratefully neglected, or in part demolished, by *Nero*.

AS to the temple, it would have been certainly much better, if *Vespasian* had left it in it's ruins. The aqueduct, on the other hand, as a work of public benefit, had a just claim both upon him, and all future emperors, for it's support.

THE water conveyed to *Rome* by this aqueduct was of great convenience to the inhabitants; especially to those, who then in great numbers dwelt on the summit of her seven hills. It was also in it's nature almost equally good with the *Aqua Martia*;

and consequently, it seems to have been well worth the expence and labour of it's conveyance; though exclusive of it's long subterranean channel, and of it's upper canal, it is carried *upon arches*, in different places, through a space of near ten miles. The new river, from the *Anio*, which is joined to the *Aqua Claudia*, is also carried about seven miles upon arches; several of which are one hundred feet in height.

It seems very strange, said *Crito's* pupil, that a reign liketh at of *Claudius* should be ennobled by so splendid and so useful a work.

CLAUDIUS'S mind was generally buried in the deepest stupidity, sadly increased by gluttony and other vices: and yet it must have been surprisingly illuminated at times, by some lucid interval of good sense, or by some brighter ray of benevolence.

SUETONIUS observes of *Claudius*, with respect to his behaviour when seated on the tribunals of justice, *Mirâ animi varietate fuit; modo circumspēctus, & sagax; modo inconsultus, ac præceps; nonnunquam frivolus, amentique similis.* The same observation is doubtless applicable to many other parts of *Claudius's* history.

IT should seem probable, indeed, at first sight, that the actions of wise benevolence, with which *Claudius's* reign is adorned; actions numerous, and some of which required a vigorous and a continued exertion of reasoning; are to be ascribed to the virtues and abilities of his ministry—more especially as his reign was a reign of favourites. But, on the contrary, history assures us, that *Claudius's* ministry was in general composed of persons much more wicked than himself: persons, whose whole attention seems to have been given to works of various vices; but, peculiarly, of rapacity, pride, and bloody revenge. Such, at least, was the character of his empresses, *Messalina* and *Agrippina*; and perhaps also of his two head-servants, *Narcissus* and *Pallas*. In a word, it was a court fit only for the education of a *Nero*.

DION seems to impute most of the crimes of this reign to the prevailing influence of the courtiers: and to leave the merit of all the laudable acts and benevolent designs in it to the emperor himself. The emperor, however, was sensible only by fits; and, what appears still more contradictory, he was frequently very cruel. *Claudius* was cruel, not only from a false notion of justice, or from a cowardly care of self-preservation, or lastly from a shamefully stupid submission to the will of his ministry; but also,

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according to *Suetonius*, from a real delight in the most shocking acts of inhumanity*.

IN what manner, then, can we account for this paradox? Certainly we cannot do it in a better manner, than by considering it, according to the hint which you just now gave us, as one of the many proofs, that there is an over-ruling Providence: a Providence, which originally created light out of darkness; and which, both in public and in private affairs, sometimes condescends to draw good out of evil; to employ the hands even of the wicked, and the counsels of madmen or fools, as instruments in performing some of it's all-wise and all-gracious designs, for the benefit of mankind.

* * *

THE company now stepped into their carriage. In their way home, the young nobleman took notice, that *Claudius's* reign was ennobled by another work, still more beneficial to this vast city.

* *Særum & sanguinarium naturâ fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. — Bestiariis, meridianisque, adeo delectabatur, ut etiam primâ luce ad spectaculum descenderet; & meridie, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet. Præterque destinatos, etiam levi subitâque de causâ, quosdam committeret: de fabricarum quoque, ac ministrorum, atque id genus numero, si αὐτοματων, vel pegma, vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset.*

SUETONIUS, in *Claud.* 34.

I MEAN

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I MEAN, said he, the very useful sea-port, which this emperor constructed on that branch of the *Tiber*, which lies some few miles north-west of *Ostia*.

I WISH, that, when we were on our last excursion to *Ostia**, we had taken that opportunity of viewing it's remains, if any. I hope, however, we may revisit the place, before we take a final leave of *Rome*. We will carry thither some prints and plans, as well as some antique medals, which have a reference to that celebrated haven. Those medals and plans will be of the more use to us, as I am afraid we must not flatter ourselves, that we shall find many traces remaining, either of it's ornamental, or of it's more substantial parts. According to the description given us of *Fiumicino*, the winds and waves have totally changed the face of that shore.

—— notissima fama ;

Nunc tantum sinus, & statio malefida carinis †.

BUT, however deeply the *moles* and the *pharos* of *Claudius's* haven may be now buried in the sands, pleasing it is to consider, that it's splendour, in some manner, still exists in that mode of

* See vol. i. p. 29.

† VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 21.

representation, by which, alone, the grandeur of ancient *Rome* is especially preserved; I mean, in her history, and by her coins.

DION CASSIUS'S description of the grandeur and public utility of this sea-port is happily still remaining *. When I come to my lodgings, I will compare it with what *Dionysius* has told us of the haven of king *Ancus*.

IF I rightly recollect, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, not only *Vespasian* and *Titus*, but the emperor *Trajan* also, among his many glorious labours for the benefit of this country, thought it an honour, to repair some of the works of *Claudius*.

VERY great, and heavy indeed, is the contempt generally cast upon the memory of *Claudius*: and equally excessive, perhaps, is the veneration paid

* The great famine, which raged at *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, prompted him to undertake the construction of a large and convenient haven, at the mouth of the *Tiber*. This vast work he happily completed, although *Cæsar* the dictator, if some mistake have not crept into *Suetonius*, had many years before attempted it in vain. It was an undertaking, says *Dion Cassius*, worthy the grandeur of the *roman* empire. But the successors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it; so that, soon after his death, it was choked up with sand, and became quite useless.

See Universal History, vol. xiv. p. 329,

to the name of *Trajan*, his more fortunate successor.

IT might hardly be imagined, that *Trajan* was, in any respect, an imitator of *Claudius*: and yet, in several instances, he certainly followed *Claudius's* designs: in none however more manifestly, than in the reparation of that haven: for *Trajan*, if I be rightly informed, repaired that sea-port, as well as those of *Civita-Vecchia* and *Ancona*.

TRAJAN is said also to have prosecuted another project of *Claudius*; namely, that of draining the *Fucine* lake.

I HAVE often wished, replied the young nobleman, that some ingenious traveller, after having passed a year or two in making the common tour of *Italy*, would allow himself another year: not for the extension of his travels into the *Levant*; but to visit those provinces of the *tuscan*, *ecclesiastic*, or *neapolitan* state, that lie out of the beaten track of travellers; but which, probably, contain many curious remains of antiquity.

IN passing through the *Abruzzo*, for instance, I presume he could not fail of finding some very considerable remains of that work you mention, at the *Fucine* lake; which employed thirty-

thousand labourers constantly, during eleven years of *Claudius's* reign.

WHAT would be your sentiments, my dear friend, in viewing that lake, and the channel of it's *emissario*? Should I ever attend you thither, my thoughts might possibly be employed in forming an idea of that magnificent, but bloody spectacle, which *Claudius* exhibited on it's waves; while all the hills around it were covered with the inhabitants of that part of *Italy*, like the sides of a vast amphitheatre. Your mind, however, would be busy in a *much more noble* contemplation, the real public utility of the *work* itself.

I AM confident you are of opinion with me, that this attempt of *Claudius*, though it failed of success, deserves to be mentioned in the *roman* history with peculiar honour.

THE security of so ample a supply of water to the current of the *Tiber** was, surely, a design very favourable to the improvement of the inland navigation of *Italy*.

THE addition also of some thousand acres of fertile soil to the territory was a no less important

* *Dion* so considers it: *Tacitus* seems to refer the improvement to the *Liris*.

Vid. *TACIT. Annal.* lib. xii. c. 56.
object.

object. The space of ground, covered and swallowed up, as it were, by that lake, must have given bread to the inhabitants of many new towns, had not the scheme of draining it failed ; first, by the negligence or avarice of *Claudius's* ministry ; and afterwards, by the envy of a *Nero*.

I REMEMBER, my dear friend, some of your observations on a similar topic, when we were crossing the *Beemster*, in *North Holland**. It was some few days after we had been seeing *Corbulo's* canal, from *Leyden* and *Delft*, to *Maeslandt Sluys*.

THE draining of lakes, the opening of havens, and the building of aqueducts, are indeed, said *Crito's* pupil, works of great public utility : but I own myself much more pleased with some other actions of *Claudius's* reign.

* "There is, in *North Holland*, an essay made of the possibility of draining great lakes ; by one, about two leagues broad, having been made firm land, within these forty years.

"This makes that part of the country called *Beemster* ; being now the richest soil of the province, lying upon a dead flat divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees ; which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen of that sort.

"There is one very great lake of fresh water, still remaining in the province of *Holland*, by the name of *Harlem Meer* ; which might, they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of land.—Much discourse has there been about such an attempt, &c."

Sir *William Temple's* Account of *Holland*.

WHEN

WHEN I consider the vast multitudes that then inhabited this extensive metropolis, I cannot help admiring, and even loving the memory of *Claudius*, for the constant and anxious care he took, in supplying them with bread, during several years of scarcity and famine. *Ad subvehendos etiam hyberno tempore commeatus, nihil non excogitavit.* A strange expression *this* of *Suetonius*, if *Claudius*, as is commonly imagined, were really sunk in continual stupidity.

WITH much greater veneration ought we to recollect *Claudius's* philanthropic design of extending the privileges of this city to many of the nations, that were subject to her dominion.

I SPEAK this in reference, not merely to his kindness towards the people of *Ilium*, *Rhodes*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*: for *Claudius* was very generous in granting *roman* privileges to the natives of many other less celebrated countries. A generosity, which, though much abused in many particular cases, and sometimes practised with great levity, yet certainly, in general, was highly laudable.

THIS intention of *Claudius* is shamefully ridiculed, by the author of that satyrical treatise, commonly known by the title of the *Αποκολοκυντωσις*.

I cannot

I can scarce imagine *Seneca* to have been really the author of that piece; at least of some passages, which we now find in it: for they are most contradictory, both to the contents of that oration, which he himself composed, to be spoken by *Nero* at *Claudius's* funeral*; and to the epistle, which, some years before, he inscribed to *Polybius*. Permit me to repeat my hopes, that some critic may arise, who shall be able to rescue *Seneca* from the dishonour of having sitten down to write so very meanly-spirited a satire†.

IT is granted, that the stupidity and wickedness of *Claudius* were at times excessive: but they both certainly had their intervals. His design to grant the *civic franchises*, of which we are now speaking, was surely replete with humanity and true political wisdom: it would have done very great honour to the reign of an *Antoninus Pius*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*.

* See *Tacitus*, *Annal.* lib. xiii. c. 3.

† Poison and murder, domestic and civil treason, are no jests: *capitalia crimina ludis*. See the epigrams prefixed to the *Consolatio ad Helviam*. It is said by *Dion*, that *Seneca* composed a satire on the memory of *Claudius*, called the *Αποκολοκυντωσις*. But *Dion* was no friend to *Seneca*; and it does not appear certain, that the treatise we now have under that name is the work alluded to.—*De titulo libri inter eruditos non convenit*. *Beatus Rhennanus*, qui reperisse & primus typis publicasse dicitur, ludum de morte *Claudii Cæsaris* appellasse, potius quam sic invenisse, creditur. *Junius*, & omnes jam passim, *Claudii Cæsaris Αποκολοκυντωσιν*, *Dione præeunte nuncupatum vadunt*. See *Fromondus's* Preface to the *Αποκ. Lipsius's* edition.

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I REMEMBER reading, with great pleasure, in the eleventh book of *Tacitus*, a speech of *Claudius* from the throne, concerning the admission of some *gallic* nobles to seats in the *roman* senate. In the course of the debate, those very senators, who opposed the bill, did not object to granting the privileges of *roman* citizenship to the provincial inhabitants so admitted.

IF I be not mistaken, continued *Crito's* pupil, even our countrymen are reckoned among the nations, to whom *Claudius* intended that favour:—*Constituerat omnes, græcos, gallos, hispanos, britannos, togatos videre.* Whether or not the satyrist had any real foundation for this, probably much exaggerated, assertion, I cannot tell: but it should seem probable, from a passage in *Dion*, if I understand it right, that the conditions offered by *Claudius* to the *britons* bore at least a mild and favourable appearance*.

HOWEVER this might be, surely so flattering a proposal could have but little weight with the *britons*; in whose breasts a love of liberty, and

† Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰ Βρεταννικὰ ἐπαχθῆ, καὶ ἵνα γε ἄλλοι
ΠΑΟΝ ΕΞ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΙΩΣΙΝ, ἐψηφισθῇ, τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπάσας,
οὐκ ἂν ὁ Κλαυδιῶς, ἢ καὶ οἱ ἀντιστρατηγοὶ αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τινὰς ποιη-
σύνται, κυρίας, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βελὴν τοῦ τε δήμου, εἶναι.]

Dio Cassius, lib. lx.

a warm zeal for their country's true welfare, have, I trust, always glowed. The privileges of *roman* citizenship might be some comfort, some considerable relief indeed to nations, already sunk under the *roman* yoke: but by the unconquered inhabitants of our island it never could be esteemed as any thing in the balance against the invaluable privileges of their own native freedom.

MANY thanks to you, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, for that noble sentiment. The glorious spirit of national liberty, which you express, beats, I am sure, through every pulse, and pants in every breast of this company.

I HAD some intention to take a copy, this afternoon, of the inscription on that antique marble, which is preserved in the wall of the *Barberini* terrace. But, fired as we are at present by your generous feelings, how could we bear to fix our eyes on such an object*!

* The inscription on this marble, which perhaps originally stood over *Caludius's* triumphal arch, in the *Via lata*, is as follows:

TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.
AUGUSTO
Pontifici Max. Tr. p. IX.
Cos. V. Imp. 16. P. P.
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quid
Reges Britannia, Absque ulla
Jacturâ domuerit, Gentisque Barbaras,
Primus indicio, subegerit.

THEN

THEN, after a pause of some minutes, during which he seemed deeply absorpt in thought, there is not, continued he, any part of *Tacitus's* works, the loss of which, as *englishmen*, we have more reason to regret, than those books of his *Annals*, that contained the commencement and the first events of the *british* wars, during *Claudius's* reign. *Dion's* history also, in it's present curtailed condition, is by far too concise on that subject.

CLAUDIUS is said to have been in *Britain* little more than a fortnight. Probably he went over merely to accept the honour of the surrender of *Maldon*, in *Essex*. *Suetonius* agrees with the *Barberini* marble, in saying, that there was no bloodshed, at least among the *roman* legions, on that occasion: yet, according to *Dion*, there was a battle. In all probability, no more, either of battle, or of siege occurred, than what was barely deemed sufficient, to qualify the emperor for the honour of a triumph; and entitle him to treat the people with a show of the siege of *Maldon*, or of *Colchester*, as represented in the *Campo Marzo**. The invasion of *Britain* was indeed, so far as *Claudius* himself was concerned in it, little more than a vain pageantry: but as

* *Edidit et in campo Martio expugnationem direptionemque oppidi, ad imaginem bellicam, & deditionem Britanniae regum, praeseditque paludatus.* Suetonius, in *Vit. Claud.* 21.

respecting

respecting *Plautius*, *Vespasian*, and his other lieutenants, it was a very serious, a very long, and difficult labour.

TACITUS'S account of the first eight years of that war is unhappily lost. During those eight years, that part of our island which lies nearest the continent, that is, the whole tract, from the shores of the *british* channel, to the banks of the *Severn*, *Avon*, and *Nen*, seems to have been slowly and gradually subdued by the *roman* armies: not without much resistance from our brave islanders; not, as our *Shakspeare* would phrase it, without grinning, like lions, on the pikes of their hunters. Often then, in our hills and woods, was heard the conflict of war: often did our silver streams run purple with *british* blood; shed from those hardy, naked breasts, which, in the glorious cause of a country's liberty, slept before targes of proof.

SUETONIUS, speaking of *Vespasian*, observes, that *in Britannia tricies cum hoste confluxit*. It seems very improbable, that *Vespasian* could be present at all the engagements in these *british* wars. It is most likely, that, beside these thirty battles, there were many other bloody fields of contest, which he never saw.

IN thinking on this subject, my dear friends, what must be the emotion and the ardour of an *english* heart? Never did I hear the last act of *Shakspeare's Cymbeline* performed at *Drury-Lane*, without feeling myself much and strongly agitated. If a *fable* could so transport me, what ought to be the effect of real *history*?

MR. *PITT**, in the heat of one of his most noble orations, dared to compare the magnanimity of *british* liberty to the description of the war-horse, so inimitably given us in the book of *Job*†. —O for a style so animated! O for an equal thunder of eloquence!

PARDON

* The late earl of *Chatham*.

† See Chap. xxxix. ver. 19,—25. Thus finely paraphrased by *Dr. Young*.

*Survey the warlike horse! didst thou invest
With thunder, his robust distended chest?
No sense of fear his dauntless soul allays;
'Tis dreadful to behold his nostrils blaze:
To paw the vale he proudly takes delight,
And triumphs in the fullness of his might.
High-raised, he snuffs the battle from afar,
And burns to plunge amidst the raging war;
And mocks at death, and throws his foam around,
And in a storm of fury shakes the ground.
How does his firm, his rising heart advance
Full on the brandish'd sword and shaken lance!
While his fix'd eye-balls meet the dazzling shield,
Gaze, and return the lightning of the field.
He sinks the sense of pain in generous pride,
Nor feels the shaft that trembles in his side:
But neighs to the shrill trumpet's dreadful blast,
Till death; and when he groans, he groans his last!*

“ There

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PARDON me, my dear friends, for this rapture. But how can I avoid wishing for the abilities of such an orator, while I am on such a topic? And why should we not think the courage of our islanders to have exerted itself as nobly, in this war of self-preservation against the *romans*, as ever since, on any other call?

FOR, let us consider not only the many engagements, or, in other words, the *activity* of this war, but its *duration* also.

FROM the time of the *roman* invasion in *Claudius's* reign, to the entire reduction of our island under *Domitian*, was a space of *above forty* years. I have been with pleasure calculating, that it was *so long* before the *roman* power, though then at its height, could conquer *Britain*. The *britons*, probably, would never have been subdued by all the force of this mighty empire, had they been but as much accustomed to the *roman* art military, as the contemporary *germans* were; or if they had

“ There is an excellent critique on the above celebrated description, in the *Guardian*. See Vol. II. In this glowing passage, our vulgar translation has much more spirit than the *Septuagint*; always taking the original in the most poetical and exalted sense; so that most commentators, even on the *hebrew* itself, fall beneath it.” See the paraphrase at the close of the *Night-Thoughts*.

been then happily connected and united, under the standard of one prince. *Sed, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur**. Their struggles indeed were unsuccessful; but their heroisms were highly glorious: *Nulla, tum, in detrectandis periculis, formido*. Of that weakness the britons were accused, after they were conquered and corrupted; *Amissa virtute pariter & libertate*: but in those early days, while they were yet free, they were eminently valiant.

O quàm multorum opera egregia in obscuro jacent!

WHO would not wish for a more particular detail of their achievements? But how brief, how defective is this part of our national history! We receive more information as to the affairs of ancient *Britain* from *Tacitus*, than from any other writer; yet surely, that information, though most sensible and authentic, is far from being sufficiently ample, or particular.

OFTEN have I wished, not only that the works of *Tacitus* had come down to us complete; but also that *Tacitus* had composed another history, and that not a concise one, but of a just size, expressly on the subject of the *forty year's war in Britain*.

* *Vita Agricolaë*, c. 12.

IN such a work, the patriotic fortitude of *Caractacus*, of *Galgacus*, and of many other *british* heroes, whose achievements are now lost in oblivion, would have appeared in due splendour and dignity: not contracted in their proportions, merely to give space in the picture for the horrid forms of the contemporary wickednesses of *Rome*; but represented in full magnitude. Many successive generations of *british* youths would thus have gazed with ardour on the glorious portraits: *Interea animos ad virtutem vehementissimè accendi; flammam in pectore crescere; neque prius sedari, quàm majorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverint**.

INDEED, dear sir, replied *Crito's* pupil, I have sometimes framed the same kind of wish. Such a work would have been highly valuable, not only on that important account which you mention, but for several other, less weighty reasons.

THE student of english history, whatever were his time of life, or temper of mind, would probably consider such a book, as one of the most favourite volumes in his library.

* Vid. SALLUST. *Bel. Jug.* c. iv. and vol. i. p. 450.

THE *antiquarian* would certainly find in it materials for a much more accurate description of the rivers and hills in ancient *Britain*, and of the boundaries of her several nations, than any he can now collect, from all the authors who have written on the subject. With great satisfaction he would learn thence the exact course of many of her public ways, and the true situation and origin of many of her cities. But his greatest feast would be in those digressions, which we may suppose to have treated of religious doctrines, of the sciences, and perhaps of the seats of learning belonging to the *druids*.

VESPASIAN, if I mistake not, conquered the isle of *Wight*, and several other *british* principalities, which probably lay between that island and the territory of the *dobuni*. This territory, I think, comprehended the counties of *Oxford* and *Glocester*. I have been told there is a place in *Wiltshire*, not far from *Stonehenge*, still called by the name of *Vespasian's camp*. The disciples of Dr. *Stukeley*, therefore, in a clear and ample history of *Vespasian's* campaigns, would reasonably expect to find some description of the *druidical* temples at *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, as they appeared in those times, when their barbarous grandeur was probably still entire.

I REMEM-

I REMEMBER going, last *april* twelvemonth, to the vast amphitheatrical temple of *Abury**, in company with my tutor, and there listening to some of his opinions respecting the doctrine of the *druids*. Several of their tenets he admired and revered; particularly those capital articles of their belief, the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of that future state, in which charity, as well as patriotic fortitude, are to be rewarded†: articles, which, very much to the honour of our parts of *Europe*, were firmly and ardently retained by our *british* ancestors; while, at the same time, the corrupted inhabitants of *Greece* and *Rome* seem to have been endeavouring, by luxury and sophistry, to extinguish in their breasts every spark of that noble and blessed hope, which is kindled by the breath of nature in the hearts of all mankind, even of the most rude and wild.

ON the other hand, it was *with much aversion* my tutor mentioned some of the bad rites, and as it were *north-american* doctrines of the *druids*. He pitied their superstitions; but he abominated the cruel sacrificing of their captives: and on this last account, he expressed strongly his joy, that

* The circumference of the mound of that amphitheatre is not less than eighteen hundred yards.

† Compare *Seneca* with *Lucan*, lib. i. v. 442.

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the *romans*, by the abolition of druidism, had cleared a way for the future progress of christianity.

BEFORE my good friend had thus turned my attention to so serious a train of thought, I was employed in another manner. I was hammering out a copy of verses. Cold indeed, or rather totally dead, must have been my imagination, had it not been *then* susceptible of some poetic ideas: *then*, while I was treading the soft turf of *Abury*, amidst the circles of those moss-grown stones; or musing in that long meadow, which leads from the temple to the silver springs of the *Kennet*, and the verdant pyramid of *Silbury*.

IN the centre of that pyramid most probably rests the dust of a *british* king; the brave protector of his people in war, and the munificent founder of religious edifices. The temple of *Abury* was in all likelihood his work. Often has his name been repeated in the songs of *british* poets; though it is now totally unknown, or but uncertainly guessed at. Often around that hill, in the solemn ceremony of annual assemblies,

*Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates demittitis ævum,*

Plurima

*Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi :
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum druidæ positis repetistis ab armis *.*

BUT let me not wander too much my dear sir, from the subject, on which you were speaking. Your indulgence will pardon the digression.

I CANNOT but be of opinion, that the *history* of *Britain*, during those forty years, would have furnished very rich and abundant matter for *poetic* imagery: even the mixture of barbarism in it would have been of no disservice to the muse.

If such a history had been extant, the adventures of it's heroes and heroines would have found celebrity from the harps of *Shakspeare*, *Spenser*, and *Milton*, arrayed in peculiar sweetness. All the *epic*, *lyric*, and *tragic* muses of modern *Britain* might have selected thence their favourite themes: they would probably have considered that epocha with as much love and respect, as was rendered by the muses of *Greece* and *Rome* to the inexhaustible story of the wars and fall of *Troy*.

EVEN the *politician* would not disdain to pay a deep attention to the contents of such a work from

* LUCAN. *Pharsal.* Lib. I. 447.

the hand of *Tacitus*. For, however barbarous *Britain* might then be in her national manners, in her few laws, and rough form of government; yet, surely, many important propositions and useful maxims might be deduced from a judicious and faithful description of them.

THE history of our ancestors, even of those who are most remote from our own times and customs, will always be found to contain something instructive to their posterity. Such I remember was the reflection you made, when reading to me, at *Hanover*, *Tacitus's* essay *De Moribus Germanorum*; and tracing out, from it, the origin of the manners and government of our *anglo-saxon* fathers: a reflection, certainly, not inapplicable to our *british* ancestors also, and to the history of our island in *their* times.

LET us judge of the utility of their history in general from one article, of which we have some knowledge: I mean the all-supporting article of population. *Britain*, though destitute of *manufactures*, and of *commerce*, and probably but little instructed in the *art* of agriculture, yet seems, in the times of *Claudius*, and of his successor, to have been at least as full of people as at present. According to that short account of *british* affairs which we *now* find in *Tacitus*, the number of slain,
in

in the defeat of one *british* army, and in the destruction of two *british* cities, amounted to less than one hundred and fifty thousand*!—*Cæsar* also says in his commentaries, that *Britain* was, in his time, abundantly inhabited:—*Hominum est infinita multitudo; creberrima edificia; pecoris magnus numerus*†. I should be glad to see these facts, if true, rationally accounted for. Such a discussion would certainly lead you to some very important reflections.

BUT I forget, that I am all this while interrupting you. You were speaking of the progress of the *roman* arms in the conquest of our island.

INDEED, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, I had much rather follow your train of ideas, than return to my former unpleasing topic.

IT is true, that the progress of the *roman* arms in the western or eastern frontiers of the empire is a much more manly object of thought, than

* *Annal. lib. xiv. c. 33. 37.* *Boadicea's* army, according to *Dion Cassius*, consisted of 120,000 in the beginning of her insurrection: it afterwards increased to 230,000. But in this almost incredible multitude, it is probable, that even the women and children, who flocked in great throngs to the camp, are to be reckoned. Even if so, the number is astonishing.

† *Cæs. de Bello Gal. Lib. v. c. 12.*

the degenerate manners of the contemporary *senate* and *people of Rome*, if they merit the being called by *that* name, or the vile arcana of the court of the *Cæsars*. It is true, that the labours of *Corbulo*, and other *roman* generals, who commanded with honour in the reign of *Claudius*, are sufficiently noble, to recall to our minds the history of some of the most celebrated heroes in the *roman* republic *. It is observed, if I be not mistaken, by the noble author of the *Spirit of Laws*, that the military virtues of this city survived all the rest. But what was the object of these virtues, as they are *most improperly* called?—the invasion, the slaughter, the plunder, the enslaving of innocent nations. Such, at least, was the case in *Britain*.

THE first commander in chief of that *british* invasion, was *Plautius*.

IN our late journey to *Tivoli*, I stood for some minutes on the *Ponte Lucano*, viewing that ad-

* The character of *Corbulo* seems, in several particulars, to bear a resemblance to that of *Scipio Africanus*.

Ομοια γὰρ τοῖς πρῶτοις Ῥωμαίων, ἔχ' ὅτι τῷ γένει λαμπρῶς, ἢ τῷ σώματι ἰσχυρῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίφρων ἦν· καὶ πολὺ μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρείου, πολὺ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δίκαιου, τότε πῶσον εἰς πάντας, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ τὰς πόλεις εἶχεν.

Dio. lib. lxii. c. 19.

Mixed with these great qualities, there were unhappily some ingredients of vanity and ostentation; and what is much more to be lamented, a considerable degree of that *roman* ambition, which was not sufficiently sparing of human blood.

joining

joining massy tower, which is the mausoleum of the *Plautian family**. My thoughts, at that time, were engaged on the history of this *Plautius*, of whom we are now speaking; and my sentiments in regard to him were very fluctuating. I could not but feel some respect for the memory of his military merit; but I felt much more horreur in recollecting, that he was the destroyer of my country. Perhaps around that tower, during his funeral solemnity, much *british* blood was shed in sport, just as it had been here, in the *circus* or *forum*, at the time of his ovation†. Such were the horrid

* See vol. i. p. 169.

† Πλαυτίῳ ἀπο τῆς Βρετανικῆς πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπηνεθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου, καὶ ἐδριαμβεύσει* καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθερωτῶν, καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλῶτοι οἱ Βρετανοὶ ἐμαχίσαντο* καὶ πολλὰς ὁσὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶδει τῆς θεᾶς ἀνῆλκυ, καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσπνυνοῦτο.

Dio Cassius. lib. lx.

If *Plautius's* wife, *Pomponia Græcina*, were really, as some writers think, a christian, with what horreur must she have looked on this scene of pride and wanton cruelty; and with what heart-felt grief reflect, that her husband was concerned in it!

It seems very observable, that in the reign of *Claudius*, eloquence, and other polite literature flourished much in *Rome*. Five centuries afterwards, all the arts and sciences of the *roman* empire were perishing, under the cold influence of northern ignorance; yet, even under these great disadvantages, christianity was able to render the hearts of the *roman* people much more humane than formerly. Many instances might be produced of this fact. It may be sufficient in this note, just to hint the contrast, between the cruelty of *Plautius* to his *british* prisoners, and the charitable sentiments of *Gregory the Great*, when seeing in the *roman forum* some poor captives of the same country.

cruelties

cruelties of *Rome*, even in those ages, which are thought to have been the most civilized and polite. For, although the *romans* did not then, so frequently as formerly, murder their captive kings, in cold blood, after a triumph; yet they seem to have continued as inhuman as ever to the common race of mankind.

THE next *roman* general, who ravaged *Britain*, was *Ostorius*. He laid our country waste, almost to the shores of the *irish* sea. From the concise account of his campaigns in *Tacitus*, we are led highly to estimate his activity, and other military virtues; but, at the same time, to form a very exalted idea of *british* valour.

I HAVE often regretted, that, when we passed through *Ludlow*, we did not know how near we were to *Brampton-Brian*, and *Caer-Caradock*:—the places where *Caractacus* struggled for *british* liberty, against the legions of *Ostorius*.

WITH what poetic pleasure would you have walked amid those venerable oaks, which *Camden* I think describes, as in his time shading *Brampton-Brian*; and which, perhaps, may have vegetated there, in a constant succession, ever since the *druidical* ages!

WITH

WITH what patriotic raptures should we all have viewed the river near *Caer-Caradock*; and those rocks, on which *Caradacus* stood, encouraging his fellow-countrymen to the combat*!

IN that battle much valour was exerted on both sides. The *britons* were in a very strong situation; but the *romans* had the much greater advantage of numbers, and proper arms; and, above all, the irresistible weight of excellent discipline.

YET, though defeated in that bloody field, the brave *flures* still continued the war. They continued their opposition with such spirit, and by degrees with such success, that *Ostorius* at length sunk under it. Vexation and disappointment, added to the other cares and fatigues of his unsuccessful expedition, broke his heart. He died in *Britain*. Perhaps his bones still lie there, interred under some lofty barrow, or pile of stones, on our coasts; in the same manner as the corpse of *Ajax* was buried on the shore of *Troy*. May they remain undisturbed!

* *Enimvero Caradacus, huc illuc volitans, illum diem, illam aciem testabatur, aut recuperandæ libertatis, aut servitutis æternæ initium fore. Vocabatque nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Cæsarem pepulissent; quorum virtute vacui à securibus & tributis, intemerata conjugum & liberorum corpora retinerent.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 34.

BUT

BUT what must have been the sentiments of *Caractacus*, when, during his captivity, he heard that his *filures*, though threatened with extirpation, were still in arms? With what ardour must he have wished to be then among them, on the banks of the *Severn*, or the *Wye*, hazarding his life again for the deliverance of his country?

IF you, my dear friend, continued he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, were to exert your mind in some poetic effusion on the noble indignation of a *Caractacus*, thus obliged to lie idle, at *such* a time; would not the fire of his patriotic heroism appear to you equal, at least, to that of any the more ancient warriors, described by the epic or dramatic poets of *Greece* or *Rome*?

I OUGHT to be duly sensible, replied *Crito's* pupil, that my mind is not strong enough, to form a proper idea of *Caractacus*, on such an occasion. But were I endeavouring to represent his captive daughter, or any of her virgin train, as weeping on the shore of *Dover*, while the *roman* fleet was bending it's sails for the voyage, I certainly should take your hint of consulting some of the *greek* tragedians. Probably I should have immediate recourse to that beautiful chorus, in the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*, ver. 443.

Ἄνρα ποντίας ἀνρα,
 Ἀτε ποντοπορεῖς κομίζεις
 Θοὰς ἀκοτὲς ἐπ' οἶδμα λιμνῆς,
 Ποι μετὰν μελέαν πορεύσεις;
 Τῷ δαλοσύνῳ πρὸ οἴκον
 Κτηθεῖς ἀφιζομαι.

BUT why do I presume to talk on this subject? The story of *Caradacus* has already been treated incomparably better by Mr. Mason.

IN one particular, Mr. Mason has, in my opinion, very much *improved* upon the original: I mean, by having painted the *druid* character as endued with many graces, borrowed from a better religion. Such, in particular, is the meek doctrine of resignation; which, if I remember right, *his druid* inculcates upon *Caradacus*, both after his defeat, and in his captivity.

I HEARTILY wish the poet could have thought it proper to add another act to his drama, descriptive of *Caradacus*, when arrived at *Rome*. With what pleasure should we be *now* perusing the scenes and chorusses of *that* act!

MANY have been the princes of various nations, said the young nobleman, whose captivity here at *Rome* we have sincerely pitied, during the course of your kind tutor's lectures: but, surely,
there

there is none that affects us so nearly, as this of our own magnanimous king, *Caraëtacus*.

It will, indeed, exhibit a melancholy object: but let us go visit the place, where our king appeared in fetters. I mean the *Castro Prætorio*. If we turn up the first road on our right, we shall be there in less than half an hour.

* * *

Ad portam Viminalem sunt mœnia, ultrà reliquos muros quadrata, quam formam vallo fossæque munitam romani usurpabant in castris:—injuria temporum, & hominum incuria multa mutavit. Et verò ibi fuisse castra militum. Prætorianorum cum Onuphrius de iis agens, & Lipsius tradunt; & communiter antiquarii.

THE foregoing lines are from *Donati*. *Eschionardi* confirms the same: *Un avanzo di fontuoso edificio scorge si presso la porta chiusa: non è difficile dalla figura accennar che fosse, e ravvisarvi li lineamenti del Castro Prætorio. Certi tubi quivi trovati dell' aquedotto dell' aqua Martia, nella di cui inscrizione è nominato il Castro Prætorio, sono testimoni di tal fabrica. Abbate Venuti adds: Il Signor Piranesi ne dà l'intera pianta ** avanzi il suo disfa-

* Tav. xxxix.

cimento,

cimento, laquale egli dice averla rilevata da' suoi avanzi, & dal prospetto, che si vede nel basso rilievo dell' Arco di Constantino, dalle medaglie, & dagli antichi scrittori.

IN this place, which is now a vineyard, belonging to the Novitiate of the jesuits, the young *englishmen* sat down on the grass. The eldest took out a pocket edition of *Tacitus*, and read to his friends the description of *Caractacus's* approach to the tribunal of the *roman* empire.

I CANNOT help imagining, said the young nobleman, that I now see really all the splendour of that *grand* ceremony; for *grand* it must be called, though every *british* heart, then in *Rome*, sighed ready to break on the occasion. Cannot you fancy to yourself the *roman* court, *there* seated, in the utmost magnificence; the *roman* people, innumerable for multitude, *there* spreading out one wide surface of faces; the prætorian regiments on both sides, drawn out in square battalions, doubtless with the sound of military instruments, and all the possible *pride and pomp* of war? The procession begins.—Be so kind as to read those lines of *Tacitus* again.

Cæsar, dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam victo. Vocatus quippe, ut ad insigne spectaculum,

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populus. Stetere in armis prætoris cohortes, campo qui castra præjacet. Tunc, incedentibus regis clientelis, phaleræ, torquesque, quæque externis bellis quæsierat, traducta; mox fratres, & conjux, & filia. Postremò, ipse CARACTACUS ostentatus.*

It was probably, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, not without some flattery to the court and ministry, that the *roman* senate compared the captivity of *Caractacus* to that of the successor of *Alexander* the Great. Indeed, the form of this part of the procession seems copied from the triumph of *Paulus Æmilius*: but, how different was the spirit of our *british* prince, from the timidity of that degenerate king of *Macedonia*? *At non Caractacus aut vultu demisso, aut verbis misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali astitit, in hunc modum locutus est†.* I think I never read, in any of the ancient historians, a speech that seemed more genuine than this, and less the invention of the writer.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied *Crito's* pupil. It is very concise and sensible; open, generous, and full of that true courage, which, though not despising self-preservation, will not say or do any thing mean to secure it.

* TACIT. *Annal.* lib. xii. c. 36.

† Ibid.

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YET I own myself much more pleased at the surprise, which *Caractacus* expressed, in viewing the greatness and splendour of the capital of the *roman* empire; and his astonishment at the insatiable and mean voracity of it's inhabitants; who, though possessed of the richest empire in the world, and gorged as it were to the throat with it's luxuries, yet could stoop so miserably low, as to deem it an addition of happiness, that their troops were ravaging the poor provinces of *Wales*, and plundering or destroying it's humble cottages*.

THE love of our country, for all *England* you know was then *Welch*, will lead us to concur with *Caractacus* in his astonishment at this avarice and ambition of *Rome*. But ought not philanthropy to carry us at least one step farther? Is not *Britain* at present possessed of an empire more extensive, and perhaps almost as opulent as the *roman*? And is it not highly probable, that in viewing the streets and squares of *London*, several *american* chiefs, whose countries border on our back settlements, may have vented *their complaints*, in expressions somewhat similar to those of *Caractacus*; or to those, which *Galgacus* ut-

* *Caractacus, barbarorum princeps, captus & Romam ductus, cum veniam a Claudio impetrasset, & dimissus perlustrasset urbis magnitudinem & splendorem, "Itane, inquit, vos, quum hæc tanta ac talia possideatis, nostra concupiscitis tuguriola?"*

Zonaras.

tered, some years afterwards, at the feet of the *Grampian* mountains? *Si locuples hostis est, avari: si pauper, ambitiosi. Quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium: atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*.*

FROM national affairs, let us look down to the private scenes of rural life. What must we imagine to be the sentiments of the *english* labourer, or poor farmer, in viewing from the door or little window of his hovel, the pompous seat and gardens of his avaricious and oppressive landlord? But this, certainly, is very seldom the case. For one instance of a cruel landlord, there are, I believe, both in *England* and *Italy*, hundreds, who are kind and beneficent.

CRITO'S pupil, having now turned the conversation to his favourite topics, proceeded to pour forth the sentiments of his heart, in the sweet eloquence of artless good-nature.

FROM these humbler topics, he rose again, gradually, like the sky-lark, from his beloved nest on the ground. He rose to themes of a heavenly kind; themes far more sublime than those,

* Vid. TACIT. vit. *Agricolæ*. c. 30.

on which his young friends had been meditating, whether of military heroism, or patriotic fortitude.

A RELIGIOUS soul, indeed, notwithstanding it's lowliness, soars infinitely higher than the mind of the patriot, or the hero. We may be convinced of this by one reflection only. Let us consider the character of that man, who, either in the senate or in the field, nobly fights the battles of his country, without having another object in view, than the mere *glory* of such a conduct. How sublime is his object *generally* esteemed; but how really despicable is it, in comparison of the objects of a religious life! Yet let not this observation be understood, as depreciating too much the merit of these *english* youths. They were both honest and worthy men; though by no means on a level with their admired friend, *Crito's* pupil.

IF the state of his mind, at the close of this *saturday* evening's conversation, could have been represented by any corporeal similitude, it would have much resembled that figure, with which *Raphael's* pencil has adorned one of the altars in *Bologna*: the figure, I mean, of *St. Cecilia*, treading on the trumpet, and other instruments both of military and common music; but laying

her

her hand on the organ, and casting up her eyes to heaven.

* * *

ABOUT eleven o'clock on *sunday* morning, the young gentlemen called at *Crito's* apartment. They had not however the pleasure of finding him there. His servant informed them, that his master, having risen at day-break, had continued several hours in his closet, and afterwards walked out towards *St. Peter's*; but that he expected him home in about half an hour.

The young gentlemen went into *Crito's* apartment, and sat down at his table; where they saw some books, which he had been studying the preceding evening. These consisted of two or three volumes on religious subjects; *Seneca's* Consolation to *Helvia*, open at the beginning of the ninth chapter; and a short treatise, relative to that science, which most strongly disposes the mind to devotion;—astronomy.

AMONG these books lay a small roll of paper; which, as *Crito's* pupil informed them, was intended for their perusal. They opened it, and cast their eyes over it's first leaf, which was a
kind

kind of introduction to the whole. The contents of that leaf were as follows.

“MY dear friends, when beginning our present course of studies, we were greatly encouraged in it by the consideration, that perhaps there never existed, on the face of the whole earth, any heathen nation, more celebrated from the practice of several moral virtues, than the *roman*. But we are now advanced to those sad times, the reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, in which we find the *roman* people totally changed; and their annals become remarkable for hardly any thing else, than the blackness and atrocious enormity of their crimes. How can I desire you to continue your attention to *their* history?

“WHILE we were compiling the catalogue of those worthies, who crowded this city during her early republican government, we frequently, at short intervals, turned our thoughts to the contemporary illustrious characters of *Greece*: in the same manner as an astronomer, though studying nightly the number and magnitude of those stars, which fill the part of the heavens over his head, yet sometimes turns his globe, to consider the constellations in the other hemisphere. But what can we do at present? Thick and foul clouds now hang over each country:—pardon me for this al-

legorical style : the bright constellations of *Greece* seem all extinguished : and *Italy* lies sunk in midnight gloom ; covered with the deep and *palpable darkness* of vice.

“ BUT look towards the south-east, and you will see, in the utmost edge of the horizon, some streaks, as of the twilight of a rising morning. Fix your eyes on this phenomenon. It becomes more and more distinguishable.

“ IF an angel were now to be looking down on the *roman* empire, he would see it's south-eastern provinces, *Palestine* and *Syria*, bright with excessive splendour.

“ THE illumination is extending itself over *Cyprus*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece* : some of it's rays already reach *Rome*. Yet, what is very peculiar, this steady and pure light seems to shine only on some low and humble roofs ; not on the lofty pinnacles of any of the *roman* palaces : over most of *these* the thick cloud is still hanging.

“ BUT, in a little time, every part of the city will be enlightened by this rising *sun of righteousness*, in a manner ten millions of times more glorious, than by all the glittering of her old heathen virtues.

FROM

“FROM *Rome* the light will proceed westward. But let me not tire you, my dear fellow-students, with the continuation of this allegorical style; a style, in which my thoughts at present flow, owing to my having been lately studying some books of this species of natural philosophy. Let me rather, in plain language, beg you to turn your thoughts, from the black crimes of *Caligula's* and *Claudius's* court, to the contemplation of the pure brightness of that Holy Church, which in *Palestine* and *Syria* was then beginning to be known, by the name of CHRISTIAN.

“A GENERAL view of the history of the Apostolic Church, during the three last years of *Tiberius's* life, and throughout the whole reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, will by no means be an improper subject for your meditations to-morrow, that is, *funday morning*.”

AFTER this introductory leaf followed a treatise, composed by *Crito* some months ago; being a kind of meditation on the history of christianity, during it's first twenty years; which closed about the end of the reign of *Claudius*. In this treatise there was a considerable degree of learning, very much humility, and still more devotion: a devotion, as appeared by the references marked in the margin,

margin, greatly inflamed by the study of *St. Chrysofom*. The whole treatise however was so short, that the young gentlemen read it through in little more than a quarter of an hour. They had laid it down again, and were beginning to talk of it's contents, when *Crito* entered the room. He saluted them with more than ordinary earnestness and affection.

CRITO'S pupil, in the name of his two friends, returned him thanks for the manuscript on the table. I believe, replied he, I ought much rather to ask your pardon, for troubling you with those papers.

It would perhaps have been much better, if I had desired you this morning to consult, in your several apartments, that book, from which almost every thing on this subject is extracted.

THIS excellent part of ecclesiastical history is in a great measure contained in the first seventeen chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*. You must however add to these chapters part of the 18th; for *Gallio*, the brother of *Seneca*, whom you will find mentioned in the middle of the 18th chapter, was governor of *Achaia*, if I mistake not, about the end of *Claudius's* reign.

IN the beginning of the same 18th chapter, the *jews* are said to have been expelled from *Rome* by *Claudius*. Permit me to trouble you with some few words on that occasion.

SUETONIUS relates the same fact: adding the most improbable and most shocking reason for it. *Judæos, impulsore CHRISTO, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit* *. That the *jews*, under the cruel and impious oppression of the *roman* tyranny, were very inclinable to rise in tumults, seems credible indeed from their history in *Judæa*, during those times. But how could Christianity, Apostolical Christianity, be a teacher of sedition? Could her doctrines, which inculcate the utmost patience and charity in private life, and which expressly command obedience to all legal authority, as to the will of *God*; and inforce that obedience by the most awful and tremendous sanctions; could these doctrines breathe the rebellious spirit of mutiny and insurrection?

THE truth, *probably*, was this. The *jews*, from a motive of zeal, raised some tumults against the christians, who were at that time chiefly of the same nation; in the same manner as they persecuted them in *Achaia*, and in other countries. *Claudius*, without inquiring into the difference, or

* Vid. Vit. *Claudii*, c. 25.

making any distinction, expelled them both. A conduct suitable to the pride of the *roman* court, which held the whole *jewish* nation in the utmost contempt: as well as to the particular temper of *Claudius*, on which the rumour of a tumult had the greatest effect. *Nulla adeo suspicio* (says the same *Suetonius*), *nullus auctor tam levis extitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo injecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur**.

BUT however this may be, you are surely too well acquainted with history, to be surpris'd at seeing innocence sometimes attacked by the grossest calumnies. You have seen a *Rutilius* banished from this same city, for crimes the most improbable; the most contrary to the whole tenour of his life. Similar was the injustice done to the christians in this case; and particularly to *St. Peter*, if, as some writers think, he was one of those, who were then expelled from *Rome*.

GIVE me leave to turn to his first epistle. This epistle is generally thought to have been written by *St. Peter* while at *Rome*; I know not at what period of his life.

BUT whenever it was written, whether in the reign of *Claudius*, or in that of his successor, it

* *Vita CLAUD. c. 37.*

contains doctrines, far different from the spirit of sedition. Several passages in it, as well as in some epistles of *St. Paul*, strongly justify the apostolic church from such calumnies. Permit me to read to you only the last fourteen verses of the second chapter.

Do not these verses totally confute the absurd accusation of christianity, mentioned by *Suetonius*?

IN a word, this false accusation of christianity, together with the sentence of banishment pronounced, in consequence of it, by *Claudius*, may be considered by us as the preface and introduction to the history, or black decalogue of those persecutions, and of those scarcely less cruel calumnies, which the christian church patiently suffered under the *roman* government, during the three following centuries.

BUT, continued *Crito*, looking on the clock, the morning wears away. Let us turn our thoughts to another employment; an employment, however, which is very much connected with the topic, on which we have been reading and conversing.

THE

THE young gentlemen staid about half an hour longer in *Crito's* apartment, and then returned to their several lodgings.

* * *

The *Villa Medicis*, most fortunately for *english* travellers, is situate near that part of *Rome* in which they generally lodge.

THIS *Villa* has the particular honour of having once belonged to that great *Florentine* family, which revived the arts and sciences of antiquity. It's high walls, on the garden-front, are entirely covered with rich *basso-relievos*: it's gardens are filled with many other valuable antiquities of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*; and are always free and open for the amusement of the public.

THIS evening, *sunday, june 21*, *Crito* was sitting alone in the portico of the *Villa Medicis*, and viewing thence the quiet and solemn aspect of the distant pine-groves, when he was joined by his pupil, and his two other young friends.

AFTER some talk on the beauties of this *Villa*, *Crito's* pupil inquired what was to be the place and subject of to-morrow's lecture.

THE

THE next character, replied *Crito*, which I intended to propose to your consideration, in following the order of history, was *Arria*, the wife of *Pætus*. The place, which, on that occasion, you would probably have thought most proper to have visited, would have been an apartment of the *Villa Ludovisi*: I mean that apartment, in which the statues of *Arria* and of her husband are preserved; a groupe estimated by the author of the *Mercurio Errante* at upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling. After having visited that apartment, you would perhaps have taken an airing in your coach to the church of *Sancta Maria in Scholâ Græcâ*: in the walls of which church, you know, several marble pillars are still to be seen, belonging to that temple of *Pudicitia Patricia*, which anciently stood on that spot.

EVEN this very portico, in which you are now sitting, would not be an improper scene for the close of such a conversation. These six colossal statues of *fabine* matrons would not fail of reviving in your minds some pleasing ideas, relative to that *female* merit, with which the republic of *Rome* was adorned, during it's most incorrupt ages*.

THE

* See Abbé *Richard's* Description of the *Villa Medicis*, vol. vi. p. 141.

THE view *from* this portico might also suggest to your imaginations a very shocking contrast.

IF I be not mistaken in the topography of ancient *Rome*, which indeed may easily be the case, part of the ground, which lies between this portico and that opposite pine-grove, was towards the end of the republic covered by the famous gardens of *Lucullus*. During the reign of *Claudius*, those gardens were in the possession of *Valerius Asiaticus*. But they were fatal possessions. They were coveted by the avaricious and bloody *Messalina*. For the sake of those gardens, she plotted a false accusation against *Valerius*; had him tried; and condemned: in a word, she murdered him, and then entered on his estate.

MARK, now, the awful workings of Providence. Scarcely had some few months past, when she was called to suffer for all her crimes. Fleeing from the imperial palace, in that day of terroure, she wandered about the streets and environs of this city: sometimes on foot, deserted by all her train, *id repente solitudinis erat*, sometimes riding,

Sous le portique six statues des sabines. Les dames romaines les honoroient de quelque culte religieux, à la fête appelé Matronalia, le premier de mars. Parmi les différentes causes qu'Ovide donne à cette fête, la première est, de ce que les sabines, enlevées par les romains, qui les épousèrent, arrêterent par leurs larmes la guerre cruelle, qui étoit prête à s'élever entre leurs peres, leurs freres, & leurs époux.

not

not in any of her usual *proud* carriages, but in a common scavenger's cart. She wandered about, yet found no soul to pity her. The deformity of her abominations had prevailed over all sentiments of compassion.

BUT whither at last did she bend her trembling steps? Or, rather, to what place were they directed, by an influence far superiour to the designs of her own mind?—To *those very* gardens of *Asiaticus*.

THITHER was she pursued by the ministers of justice: there was she found by the executioner, lying on the cold earth, but herself far more chilled by dismay and horror*: there was her guilty blood actually poured forth.

* *Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces; nonnullâ spe, & aliquando irâ: tantâ inter extrema superbîâ agebat.—Prorupit Narcissus (e palatio) denuntiatque centurionibus & tribuno qui aderant, exsequi cædem: ita imperatorem jubere. Custos & exactor e libertis Evodus datus. Isque raptim in hortos prægressus, reperit fusam humi, assidente matre Lepidâ; quæ florenti filiæ hand concors, supremis ejus necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat.—Animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat: lacrymæque & questus irriti ducebantur. Cum impetu venientium pulsæ fores: adstitit tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis ac servilibus probris. Tunc primùm fortunam suam intropexit, ferumque accepit, quod frustrâ jugulo ac pectori per trepidationem admoventis, iâtu tribuni transfigitur.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. in fine.

IF *Asiaticus* had been a good man, would not this history of his gardens have appeared to you very similar to that of *Naboth's* vineyard, in the fields of *Jezreel*?

BUT let us take a short walk to *that part* of these *Medici* gardens, which seems to have bordered upon, or perhaps, to have comprehended part of the ground, once belonging to the gardens of *Asiaticus*.

THE company readily followed *Crito* to the separate enclosure, on the southern side of the *Villa Medici*. They passed some time there, on the mount, in very serious conversation on the dreadful catastrophe of that vile woman. They afterwards returned into the more frequented parts of the garden: *Crito*, in the mean time, lamenting the extreme hardness, with which vice frequently petrifies the human heart. Notwithstanding the shocking fate of *Messalina*, her crime was, soon afterwards, exactly copied by *Claudius's* second empress, *Agrippina*; I mean, in relation to the gardens of *Statilius Taurus*. But *Agrippina's* crimes also will be followed by their punishment.

WHILE *Crito* pursued this subject, the company were passing by the fine statue of the dying *Cleopatra*. How wretched, said *Crito*, somewhat changing

changing the discourse, must *Cleopatra*, that *egyptian Agrippina*, even in the midst of all her pride and luxury, have appeared even in her own eyes! especially, when she compared herself to some of the *virtuous* matrons of *Rome*: of *two* in particular, whose characters were well known in the court of *Alexandria*; namely, first *Cornelia*, the wife of *Pompey* the Great; and secondly, *Octavia*!

THE company now crossed over into the middle shady walk: and there, after some desultory talk on various other subjects, resumed their former topic in the following manner.

I MUST desire you, said *Crito*, to excuse me for not having prepared, as was my intention, some essay on *Arria's* character, for your perusal to-morrow morning.

GIVE me leave, my dear pupil, to beg the favour of you to relieve me in this particular. A copy of verses on that subject, composed by your pen, will give your two young friends here almost as much pleasure, as if you had been able to show them the ode, which your muse inscribed to the memory of *Octavia*.

I SAY *almost*, for though the temper of *Arria's* mind was, in general, very noble and exalted; and though several of her actions, as *Rollin* observes*, were truly laudable; yet I am sure you will not join in the common admiration of her suicide; or approve of her avowed contempt of life, if forced to survive her husband. This doctrine, however, she inculcated into her daughter's mind, by precepts, as well as by example. In these respects, *Arria* seems to have born much more resemblance to an *indian* princess, while ascending her husband's funeral pile, than to the meek-spirited *Octavia*. *Octavia's* long-indulged grief, for the death of her son *Marcellus*, though at length, indeed, it broke her heart, yet never did it lift her hand to self-destruction.

MUCH less should we presume to compare *Arria*, with any of those female worthies, who are *most justly* celebrated in the history of christianity: who loved their husbands and children with at least as much fidelity, as ever was practised on the banks of the *Tiber*, or the *Ganges*; and yet, with due resignation, submitted that love to the dictates of sound reason, and of true religion.

* See also *Pliny's* Epistles, book iii. ep. 16.

BUT

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BUT after making suitable allowances for *Arria's* misguided conduct in those particulars, the rest of her character may certainly furnish a very pleasingly poetic subject. So eminent an example of conjugal virtue will be a very agreeable and *proper topic* for all your thoughts.

I KNOW not how it may sound from *my* lips, yet I think it my duty on this occasion to say, and to repeat it, That the goodness of the remainder of your respective lives will in a great measure depend on the union, by which each of you, probably, soon after your return home, may be made happy in the bands of virtuous 'wedded love'.
*Juvenes, citò prudentes, citò pii; citò mariti, citò patres; citò omnis officii curiosi**. I thought yesterday of you all, while, talking of *Germanicus*, we expatiated on his early and happy marriage. *Exspectant vos etiam jampridem domi tibicines, & Hymenæum qui cantent,*

*Felices ter & amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula; nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis,
Supremâ citius solvet amor die*†.

BUT let me repeat to you some other verses on the subject. They are the composition of a

* *Seneca* ad *Martiam*.

† *HORAT.* lib. i. od. 13.

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modern *italian* poet*; and seem rather more
suitable to this day.

*O te, beatum, qui Deum castè colis
Ejusque servas semitas!
Tuæ labore quod manus paraverint
Te nutriet fructu ubere.
Tibi bene est, eritque; cunctis affluis,
Et semper afflues bonis.
Qualis tuis conjuncta vitis mœnibus
Uvis abundat dulcibus;
Sic prole multâ te beabit optima
Uxor, ferens natas pares.
Virentibusque seu novella frondibus
Vigent olivæ germina:
Venusta mensam sic tuam circumdabit
Florens corona liberûm.
En! ut bonis ditabitur quamplurimis,
Timere qui novit Deum!
Hæc largiatur, pluraque Ille munera
Tibi, arce ex Sioniâ:
Patriæque perfruare felicis bonis,
Per cuncta vitæ tempora:
Cernas tuorum liberorum filios,
Lætamque pace patriam†.*

THE

* Signior *Rossi* of *Arrezzo-Arretium* in *Tuscany*.

† Vid. *Psalms*. DAV. cxxviii. The reader of taste, on a
due consideration of the beauties exhibited in this specimen
of sacred poesy, will be ready to own, of the book of *Psalms*
in

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THE company were by this time arrived at the farther end of the middle walk of the garden; when *Crito*, leaning on the iron rails, paused a while; and then again addressed himself to his pupil, and his other young companions. May you all, said he, *in some few years*, be surrounded with a numerous and beautiful young family; but much more long lived, much more the favourites of heaven, than that which here surrounds *Niobe*, in this most noble of all statuary groups; probably the master-piece of the great *Scopas*!

BUT let us now take another turn in this walk: and give me leave again, to express my hopes, that you, my dear pupil, will favour me with a short composition on this subject. A copy of such a composition, by *you*, will give much more pleasure to your parents in *England*, than even that which went hence last week*.

THE character of *Arria*, notwithstanding it's defects, is capable of being so represented, as to

in general, what the excellent bishop *HORNE* so emphatically says concerning them. "They present religion to us, in the most engaging dress: communicating truths, which *philosophy* could never investigate; in a style, which *poetry* can never equal: while *history* is made the vehicle of prophecy; and *creation* lends all it's charms, to paint the glories of *redemption*." See his Commentary on the *Psalms*, vol. i. pref. p. 64. 8vo. B.

* See, of this work, book iii. chap. vii. vol. ii. p. 126.

make a very agreeable figure. Some of it's features much resemble those of *Panthea*, as painted by *Xenophon*.

WHILE you are indulging your poetical ideas in this ode, I shall be employing my thoughts on a subject more suitable to my years: a subject, which has filled my mind ever since sun-rise this morning; and on which I shall be very happy to converse with you all, my dear friends, to-morrow, in that solemn pine-grove of the *Villa Borghese*; and on *tuesday*, in the spacious and august *piazza* of that most splendid church.

As *Crito* was pronouncing these words, he stretched forth his right hand towards *St. Peter's*; the dome and front of which church appear very distinctly from the *Medici* gardens.

CRITO remained, for some little time, quite motionless in that attitude, and his mind seemed to be labouring under some great thought. He was ready to give it utterance, when suddenly two or three *french* gentlemen, who had been reading the inscription over the chapel, in the northern corner of the garden*, came up to our *english* company;

* If I remember right, the inscription alluded to is in honour of a person of fortune, who lived in this part of *Rome*, at the time when it was sacked by the duke of *Bourbon's*

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company; and consequently broke off all further private conversation between them.

bon's army. This person, supposed, from his former very frugal manner of life, to have amassed great wealth, was then put to the torture by the soldiers, to force him to discover the sources of his opulence. It was discovered, that he had, indeed, a great treasure; but that treasure was laid up by him, not on earth; but *in heaven*; far out of the reach of spoilers.

C H A P. VI.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SCENE. *The apartment of the eldest of the young gentlemen: himself reading a volume of Tacitus: a map of England lying before him on the table.*

[*Enter his two young friends.*]

ELDEST.

HOW pleasant is it for travellers, who have been so long abroad as ourselves, to take up now and then such a map as this; and to feast their eyes with the sight of *their own country*!

I HAVE been looking over some parts of *North Wales*; and have recollected many agreeable circumstances, which occurred to us in our tour through that romantic region, the summer before last.

SUCH has been my amusement since breakfast; though, when I rose this morning, I had another motive for taking this map out of my travelling chest. My reason for it was, that I might by this
help

help be better enabled to understand *Tacitus's* account of *Suetonius Paulinus's* campaigns. If I be not mistaken, it was not till the *eighteenth* year of the *british* war, that the *roman* legions penetrated into *Caernarvonshire*. *Paulinus*, ardently desirous to complete his conquest of this part of *Britain*, invaded *Anglesea* also; and in that action *swam* his cavalry across *this* arm of the sea. He seems from *this circumstance* to have been a very *bold* commander; as, on the other hand, his *conduct*, and *perseverance*, are highly extolled by *Tacitus*.

TACITUS hints at a comparison between *Paulinus's* campaigns in *Britain*, and those of *Corbulo* in *Armenia*. Indeed, though the hills of *North Wales*, and even *Snowdon* itself, are not to be compared to the mountains of *Ararat*; and though in this part of the world, during the contest between the *romans* and the *britons*, there was no *third* nation, of such power and dignity as *Parthia*, to interfere, and ennoble the scene of their campaigns and negotiations: yet, if we confine our thoughts merely to the native bravery of it's inhabitants, surely *Britain* was as difficult a theatre of war as *Armenia*, or perhaps any region of *Asia*. In saying this, I am far from thinking myself partial to my country.

BUT

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BUT how dreadful is the idea, which now rises to our minds, if from *Wales* we turn our eyes to the eastern side of *Britain*; and contemplate the vast effusion of human blood, which *then* suddenly burst forth, almost in every field of *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, and discoloured all the beautiful verdure of the banks of the *Thames*!

CRITO'S PUPIL.

HORRID, indeed, as you observe, very horrid were those massacres. They blot out the glory of our otherwise patriotic heroine, *Boadicea*: they cast a stain of dishonour on the history of our nation. It is true, that the *roman* armies, which then oppressed *Britain*, were full of insolence, impiety, cruelty, and insatiable avarice; but the savage revenge of the *britons* is not thereby justified.

SOME verses of *Glover's Boadicea* affected me greatly, when I first heard them: and I hope they will long remain fresh on my memory.

*Of all the paths, which lead to human blifs,
The most secure, and grateful to our steps,
With mercy and humanity is mark'd.—
Ah, how much brighter is the wreath of glory,
When interwove with clemency and justice!*

YOUNG

YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

IT seems somewhat extraordinary, that the *roman* historians, though they speak much of the destruction of *Camalodunum*, *Verulam*, and *London*, by the fury of *Boadicea*, yet give us no description of the situation of that famous field of battle, where her prodigious army was soon afterwards totally defeated.

AN *english* writer, I know not of what repute among the antiquarians, thinks it probable, that this battle might be fought near *Keston* camp, on *Hayes* and *Bromley Common**. Indeed, it seems not unlikely, that *Paulinus*, on being obliged to abandon *London*, should retire to the southward of the *Thames*, towards *Kent*; in order that he might, there, more readily receive reinforcements from the continent.

* It is not known, that any coins or marks of the *romans* were ever found at *Keston* camp: but it is perhaps observable, that the brook, which rises close adjoining to it, is called *Ravernsburn*, which word seems a corruption of *romans bourne*. In like manner, the same writer observes, that the *Ravenbank*, which crosses the low-lands of *Lincolnshire*, is in old writings, according to Dr. *Stukeley*, termed the *romans bank*. The *roman* camp also in *Hertfordshire* goes by the name of *Ravenborough Castle*. I have somewhere seen another fortification of that name.

See *Salmon's Survey of England*, vol. i. p. 92. and 355.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

IT were well, if *Salmon's* conjecture could be fully proved. I owe so much love and gratitude to the environs of *Bromley*, that I ought heartily to wish for the success of every hypothesis, which may contribute in any degree to their honour.

ELDEST.

I OWN, for myself, that I have more curiosity to know the place where *Boadicea*, according to an extract from *Dion*, subjoined in the notes to this edition of *Tacitus*, was interred by her faithful, though ruined subjects. Δεινως αυτην επενδησαν, & πολυτελως εθαψαν. If we had any tolerably complete account of the *Britannia Romana*, we should probably find in it some description of the *place* and *form* of her *sepulchre*. Often, perhaps, have we seen the spot; often may our feet unknowingly have trodden upon that turf, under which, in some future age, her bones may be discovered; intermingled with the brazen head of her spear, and some of the golden ornaments of her royalty.

BUT, continued he, rolling up the map, let us, though with reluctance, withdraw our thoughts totally from *England*. Let us think of *Rome*.

BREAK-

* * *

BREAKFAST being now brought in, the company sat down to it. The conversation afterwards turned on the subject of *Nero's* reign.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

(*Taking up Dion Cassius from the table.*)

IF I recollect right, the characteristics of this reign, according to *Dion*, were these three; *Ασελγεια, Ωμοτης, Ασχημοσυνη*. Like the foul deities whom they worshipped, the wretched people of *Rome* exhibited themselves

—— *partial, changeful, passionate, unjust:*
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust.*

LET us pass over the first black article as quick and silently as possible. As to the other two, I cannot help observing, that the pride of the *roman* nation, if we may judge from their writers, seems to have been as much hurt by the third article, as by the second; though, certainly, there is no comparison between them. The folly, which *Nero* exhibited on the stage, might indeed justly

* POPE. *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii.

render

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render him very contemptible; but in how different a manner ought we to think of the *multiplied* *horror* of his murders!

I WISH I could properly repeat to you what my tutor lately advanced on that dreadful subject.

SOME few days ago I attended him to the *Lateran* cathedral. His conversation at first turned upon several ecclesiastical, and very important topics. Towards the close of that conversation, we relaxed our minds with some lighter subjects: it became a *classic* talk.

HE gave me a short history of the *fabric* where we stood, from the time of *Lateranus*, who was slain by Nero, to the reign of *Constantine*: and thence to the present age*.

WE afterwards walked from the church to the back door of the baptistery: where *the* remains

* The history of the *Lateran* cathedral appears in general to be this. On the execution of *Lateranus*, his house and gardens were confiscated to the emperor, and seem to have continued part of the imperial estate, down to the times of *Constantine*.

Constantine is supposed to have authorised the christians in *Rome* to make use of part of his *Lateran* palace, for the place of their religious assemblies. It thus became the first christian church ever opened by the authority of a supreme magistrate: and partly, perhaps, for this reason, it is entitled *Omnium ecclesiarum, in urbe, & in orbe, mater, & caput.*
of

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of Lateranus's *stately house* are more visible, than in any other part.

I STOPPED to admire one of the great columns of porphyry†. My tutor took that opportunity to give me some instructions, relative to the excessive magnificence in which the ancient *roman* nobility passed their days; as well as to the instability and vanity of such magnificence,

IN the times, said he, of their prosperity and wealth, what were the *serious thoughts* of the generality of the *roman* noblemen? The rebuilding, or the enlarging, of their villas and palaces; those proud structures, which they had designed as the repositories of their enormous opulence of every kind; and as the scenes of their intended ease and luxury, for many, many years to come.—Αφρων, ταυτη τη νυκτι, την ψυχην σε απαιτουν απο σε. Α δε ητοιμασας, τινη εσαι*;

THE same folly strongly infected even the *reputed* wise men of that generation. They saw the

* Il battisterio, denominato di Constantino, fabbrica de' tempi bassi, fatta con le spoglie della Casa de i Laterani—dietro al battisterio si vedono alcuni maggiori avanzi di questo palazzo—Le colonne di porfido, che sono al battisterio erano di questo palazzo, come quelle che sono nel muro verso la sagrestia, e che sostengono un pezzo di fregio, & di cornice antica.

See Abbate Venuti, part. ii. p. 134, 135.

† Div. Luc. c. xii. 20.

vanity of such designs daily exemplified; yet their proud hearts were not converted by the sight. *Tot divitum subita paupertas*, says a contemporary writer, (*Seneca*,) *in oculos incidit: & nobis nunquam in mentem venit, nostras quoque opes æquè in lubrico positas.* That lot, however, which they had so frequently seen falling on others, fell, at length, in reality upon themselves.

*Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis,
Longinum, & magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obfidet ædes
Tota cohors*.*

BUT let us sit down by the ruins of this pompous portico; and meditate awhile on the subject.

WITH respect to *Lateranus* himself, we will not, at present, enter into any discussion of the lawfulness of that intended insurrection, which was designed to deliver the world from the tyranny of *Nero*: or into any particular examination of that senator's character; though a very great idea of it is conveyed to us, in some few concise expressions of *Tacitus*: *Lateranum, consulem designatum, nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit conjurationi†.* How very similar

* *JUVENAL. Sat. X. 15.*

† *TACIT. Annal. lib. xv. 49.*

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was this motive to that, which influenced *Marcus Brutus*!

LET me rather again desire your attention, my dear pupil, to the *suddenness* of that ruin, which fell on *Lateranus*, and his opulent family. According to *Suetonius*, *Nero* generally gave but one hour's respite to the persons, whom he ordered to die: immediately after that hour had elapsed, they were forced to put themselves to death. But with *Lateranus* the respite was not so long. Perhaps it might be in this stately portico, that *Lateranus* was seized. Let me read to you here a line or two of my extracts from *Tacitus*.

Proximam necem Plautii Laterani, consulis designati, Nero adjungit; adeò properè, ut, non completti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium, permetteret. Raptus in locum servilibus pænis sepositum, manu Statii tribuni trucidatur.*

MY tutor now paused for some moments: then, recollecting his thoughts, he proceeded as follows.

RUIN, equally unexpected, and equally destructive, fell at various times on many other stately edifices, inhabited by the *roman* nobility.

* *Annal.* lib. xv. c. 60.

THE history of the extirpation of most of the great senatorial families in *Rome* has often, my dear pupil, led me to a very serious train of thought. How many of the *roman* nobles were slaughtered, in the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Anthony* and *Octavius* ! Even when the sword slept, in *Augustus's* reign, we see them continue to perish by other causes. Many were impoverished by luxury and vice. A very remarkable number dropped into their graves, without leaving children to inherit their titles and estates. Vengeance still pursued the remainder of them. In the following reigns; under *Tiberius*, the *roman* house of lords was thinned by the axe of mock-justice; they destroyed themselves, by their own votes and decrees: under *Caligula*, they bled by the sword of the soldiery: and under *Claudius*, and *Nero*, they perished by both these destructive instruments of tyranny united.

THE dispensations of Providence are most just. Let us recollect what our countryman, Mr. *Hooke*, says, of the wickedness of the *roman* senate, in the corrupt and degenerate times of the republic; their avarice, cruelty, perfidy, and pride. Their houses were filled with the spoils of innocent nations. But their crimes shall be punished, even to the third and fourth generation of their children. Four tyrants,—a series of monsters,—such
as

as the world never till then saw, and never since has seen, seated on the throne of government, shall be appointed to rule over them; and to dash them to pieces, as with the continued strokes of a rod of iron.

NERO was the principal instrument appointed to humble and confound the pride of the *roman* nobility, in *Rome* itself; in the sight of all the nations of the earth*; no less than to shed their blood in almost every province of the empire.

WHILE he was thus talking to me, my own heart, too keenly, joined in my tutor's sentiments.

WELL might *Tacitus*, thought I declare upon this occasion, *Ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit*: For, certainly, in the cruelties of a *Nero*, and a *Porroa*,

* Εκεινο δεῖξαι καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ δεινότερον αἷμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ ἀνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἔχ' ὅπως τῇ ἰππικῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βασιλευτικῇ ἀξιώματι, ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον, τότε θεάτρον, τὸ κυνηγετικὸν εἰσῆλθον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμωτατοὶ εἰσῆλθον οἱ μὲν ἐδελοῦνται, οἱ δὲ πάνω ἀκούτες.— Καὶ εἶδον οἱ τότε ἀνδρῶποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα, τῆς Φθίως, τῆς Ὀρχήστρας, τῆς Φαβίως, τῆς Πορκίως, τῆς Οὐαλερίως, τ' ἄλλα πάντα, ὧν τὰ τροπαῖα, ὧν οἱ ναοὶ ἐκράντο, κατὰ τὴν ἐξήκοιαν, καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας, ὧν ἕναι ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων γινόμενα ἐδεῶρεν. Καὶ ἐδακτυλοδείκτεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπέλεγον Μακεδόνες μὲν, Οὐτὸ ἐστὶν ὁ τῇ Παύλῃ ἐκγονοῦ, Ἕλληνας δὲ Οὐτὸ τῇ Μομμίου· Σικελιώται, ἰδετε τὸν Κλαυδίον· Ἡπειρώται ἰδετε τὸν Ἀππίον· Ἀσιανοὶ τὸν Ἀγκιον· Ἰβήρες τὸν Πηπλίον· Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀφρικανόν.
Dio Cassius, lib. lxi.

See also *Montesquieu*, *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, the 15th chapter; and that paragraph, which begins with the words: *C'est ici qu'il faut se donner le spectacle des choses humaines*, &c.

*Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisâ Lacænæ,
Culpatufve Paris; verum inclementia Divûm
Has evertit opes, sternitque a culmine Trojam*.*

But I was recalled from this train of thought by my tutor; who observed, that, although Nero was a proper *instrument* of vengeance, yet he, himself, deserved the greatest of punishments.

My tutor then proceeded to speak of some of Nero's crimes, particularly his murders, in such a style, as to fill me with inexpressible horror. He *unfolded* them in such a manner, as would almost

*—harrow up your souls, freeze your young blood;
Make your combin'd and knotted locks to part;
And each particular hair to stand an end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine†.*

SUCH were my tutor's reflections, on viewing the ruins of the palace of *Lateranus*. Let us, now, for a while quit the horrid topic:—or, if the history of *Nero* must be the principal subject of our thoughts this day, let us contrive to intermingle with it some other business, or amusement, which may serve frequently to divert and relieve the mind.

* *ÆNEID*. ii. 601.

† SHAKSPEARE. *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 3.

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SUPPOSE we take a ride this morning. My tutor has walked out by the *Porta del Popolo* to the *Villa Borghese*. If you please, we will make a little excursion into the *campagna*, and in our return call on him there.

* * *

THIS proposal being readily assented to, the young gentlemen ordered their horses, and rode out from the *Porta Pia*.

THE eldest pointed to the *Castro Prætorio*, a little to the right on the high road. Suetonius, said he, informs us, that it was thence Nero had the bitter mortification, in the hour of expulsion from his imperial palace, to hear, *ex proximis castris, clamorem militum, & sibi adversa, & Galbæ prospera ominantium*. It was along this very road, that the tyrant, then, in the last night of his life, fled away, filled with *fear* and *shame*. But why do I mention these little circumstances? *Extreme*, at that time, surely, must have been his confusion, and horreur of conscience; while the heavens roared in thunders over his head; the lightnings flashed in his face; and the ground, in an earthquake, tottered beneath his feet*.

BUT

* *Tremore terræ, & fulgure adverso pavescit.*

Suetonius, Nero. 48.

BUT I forget, my dear friend: you proposed this ride chiefly as an amusement. Let us talk on some other topic.

* * *

IF you please, said *Crito's* pupil, we will follow the road that leads towards *Nomentum*.

THE company accordingly continued their ride for three or four miles: during which time the conversation varied to many different subjects.

THE pleasantness of the weather, and the beauty of the country, the vegetation of which was in this month at it's height, revived at length some favourite ideas in the breast of *Crito's* pupil.

As he imagined himself to be nearly approaching the spot of *Seneca's* suburban villa *, he began

See also what *Dion* says on the occasion.

—φυγὴν ἐπεχειρήσιν. Πρὸς χωρίον τι φανὲν — νυκτὸς ἐπιβόης ἤλασε· καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα πράττοντες, λείψματα ἐξαισίου ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ δοκῆσιν παρὰσχέιν, ὅτι ἡτὶς γῆ πᾶσα διαρρηγνύται, καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονευμένων ψυχαὶ πασαι ἀμὰ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναδρνῶσι.

Observatum etiam fuerat, Nero sic cantasse;

Θανεὶν μ' ἀνῶγει συζαμῶ, μητῆς, πατρὸς.

Perseus, demum, scelere, magnitudo ejus intellecta est.

* *Tacitus* says, that *Seneca* had a villa about four miles distant from *Rome*. See *Annal. lib. xv. In suburbano rure, quartum apud lapidem*. It is submitted to the reader's consideration,

gan to speak of the virtues, which that philosopher there *really* practised; not only in his last hour, but during many preceding years.

CRITO'S pupil now indulged himself in one of his most beloved topics, the happy business of a country life; a life, which agriculture and gardening, temperance, moderate labour, and moderate study, all contribute to render delightful. Blessed lot! but rendered far more blest, when accompanied by constant daily exercises of piety and charity.

OF all the professions in humble life, I know not, said he, any, that I should prefer to the employment of a gardener, or small farmer, when in tolerably easy circumstances. His mind is kept in vigour; his body in health; his field or garden is full of innocent charms, to delight all his senses; and of objects, proper, frequently, to suggest to his soul some moral or *pious* thought.

sideration, whether or no *that* might not be the villa, which belonged to *Seneca*, in *Nomentanâ regione*, of which he speaks in his 104th and 110th epistles; and which is also mentioned with particular honour by his contemporary *Columella*. See *De re rusticâ*, lib. iii. c. 3. *Sed Nomentana regio nunc celeberrimâ famâ est illustris, & præcipue quam possidet Seneca, vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinæ, cujus in prædiis vinearum jugera singula culleos octonos reddidisse, plerumque compertum est.* But it is to be remembered, that *Seneca* had also a villa in *Albano*, and perhaps others.

I REMEM-

I REMEMBER my father's observing, that in *this last* respect the sentiments of some christian writers, who have treated on the subjects of gardening and husbandry, are certainly far superiour to those of the most eminent heathens. But, as to myself, I know scarce any thing of either. Of the *roman* writers *de re rusticâ*, *Columella* is, I think, reckoned the most elegant. I am yet but very little acquainted with his works; but intend soon to peruse them. I have been reading, this morning, the introduction to his first book. The principal subject of that introduction is, you know, the contrast, between the rural industry of the ancient *romans*, and the trifling manners of their posterity, in *Columella's* time: that is, in *Nero's* reign. *Luxuriæ deliciisque nostris virilis vita displicet.*

INDEED, the life of men of fortune, said the young nobleman, is usually too full of trifling; especially while they are resident in great cities. But it was, probably, much more so, amidst the immense opulence and luxury of *Rome*, and the bad examples of *Nero's* court*.

* *Jam vero propria & pecuniaria hujus urbis vitia, pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur; histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque studia. Quibus occupatus & obsessus animus, quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit?*

See the treatise on Oratory, usually published with *Tacitus's* works: cap. 29.

THE

THE whole life of *Nero* was always trifling, whether at *Rome*, at *Naples*, or in other places. But, in a particular degree, what a tour of folly was his journey to *Greece*! His amusements there were theatrical diversions; his serious occupation was *fiddling*. With great exactness and care he laboured for the prize of music; totally neglecting the proper employment of a sovereign, the welfare of his people*.

BUT let me recollect: am not I, though a private person, in some measure guilty of the same kind of fault? Am not I now, while on my travels, squandering away on music, virtù, and other *inerti negotio*, those days, of which I must give a strict account? Ought not I rather to apply my attention, with all diligence, to the much more important business of doing, or preparing myself to do, as much good, as is really in the power of one in my station? some public, some private, or at least some domestic beneficence?—*Ad hæc quærenda natus, æstimare debeo; quàm non multum acceperim temporis, etiam si illud totum his operibus vindicem.—Quod senectû vocatur, paucorum est circuitus annorum.—Sed nunc, dum calet sanguis, certè vigen-*

* Πάντα ποιεῖ, ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαρῶδων ἀγῶνα νικῆσας ἡττήσῃ τὸν τῶν Καίσαρων.—Τίς νικῇ ἀτοπώτερά, ἐν ἡ τὸν κοτίνον, ἢ τὴν δαφνὴν, ἢ τὸ Λεῖνον, ἢ τὴν πίτον λαβὼν, ἀπώλεσε τὸν ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ.

tius ad meliora eundum est. Ante senectutem curem, ut bene vivam: in senectute, ut bene moriar.—These words of *Seneca* struck me strongly, while I was dipping into his works last night.—I hope, however, that my turn for the amusements, of which I have been speaking, has not been remarkably excessive; though I am every day more and more strongly convinced, that I ought to correct myself in them.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these good sentiments, his two friends looked on him with great regard. His present turn of thought seemed to favour the patriotic ardour of his elder friend; but in reality it was much nearer allied to the piety, humility, and charity of *Crito's* pupil.

IF I be not mistaken, replied *Crito's* pupil, *Nero* made the tour of almost all the *grecian* cities; except the two principal, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. He shunned the *athenian* territory, his conscience not suffering him to approach the temple of *Eleusis*. He shunned *Sparta*, for a similar reason. I remember *Dion's* words: Δια τῆς Λυκωρύχου νομοῦς, ὡς πάντις τῇ προαιρεσει αὐτῷ οὐκ ὄντας.

HAD *Nero* persevered in his intended voyage to *Egypt*, he would probably, in like manner, have

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have passed much time at *Alexandria*, *Canopus*, and other seats of idleness on the *Nile*: but never would he have visited the sacred habitations of those *therapeutic* philosophers, whom *Philo* describes as then spread over all *Egypt*; living retired from the world; having disposed of their fortunes to their relations; practising much austerity; and giving up their time to pious studies and meditations.

SUCH a depravity, and weakness of mind, in some degree, appears by no means in you, my worthy friend: but it does in several young travellers, of various nations, who, as my tutor observed to me, wander through many parts of *Europe*, particularly *Italy*; thinking of scarcely any thing except diversions, and the most trifling kinds of music and vertù; and shunning or slighting those places, which are remarkable either for devotion, or austerity of manners*. Their time is totally employed in the pursuit of pleasure, which flees them; and consequently becomes void, in a great measure, of dignity, utility, and real happiness.

* * *

THE company now quitted the *Nomentan* road, and turned across the *campagna* to their left.

* *Discurrunt, & locorum mutationibus inquietantur; agri animi jactatione.* Senec. Ep. 2.

MUCH was it to be wished, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that *Nero*, in his *grecian* tour, had been guided by folly only. But there, as in *Italy*, he was stained with vices, far exceeding the most enormous wickedness of modern ages. Rapine went on his left hand, and Murder on his right*.

IF our travels *should* extend to *Greece*, we shall certainly make it our chief business, in several parts of that country, to recollect the heroisms of it's ancient natives: but I hope we shall not be so wholly taken up with their panegyrics, as at *Cenchreæ* to forget the name of *Corbulo*.

IN that *corinthian* port, by the command of *Nero*, *Corbulo* was murdered.

WHILE we are treading on that coast, and viewing on one side of the bay the hills of *Attica*, on the other the mountains of the *Peloponnesus*, shall we not think *Corbulo* happy, at least, in this circumstance; that he died, and was buried in that land, which gave birth to, and contained the ashes of so many heroes? Shall we not then endeavour, by recollecting the principal events in the *grecian* history, to find some illustrious gre-

* Πασαν Ελλάδα λεηλατησι.

Dio Cassus.
Nunquam inter voluptates, à rapinâ & cæde cessabat.

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cian character similar to his? I wish I were able, even now, when in the suburbs of *Rome*, to expatiate, with proper dignity of sentiment and language, on the character of *Corbulo*.

AMONG many other particulars, highly to his honour, ought we not to take notice, that it was to be attributed to *Corbulo* alone, that the *roman* army in *Syria* was so strengthened, by newly-revived discipline, as to strike terror over all the east?

IT was to *Corbulo* alone, that *Nero* owed the most splendid circumstance of his reign: I mean, the submission of the royal family of *Parthia*, strongly expressed by *Tiridates's* coming hither, to receive the investiture of the kingdom of *Armenia*.

How great, indeed, did the majesty of this imperial city then appear! From the shores of the *Caspian*, *Tiridates* came, to pay his homage, and receive his crown. In that very year, it is remarkable, that *Suetonius Paulinus*, the conqueror of the western shores of *Britain*, was invested with the consulship; and, probably, assisted at that pompous ceremony.

BUT what must have been the thoughts of *Paulinus*, while seeing the suppliant *parthian* in
the

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the *roman forum*? Must he not have recollected the appearance of *Caractacus*, in the *Castro Prætorio*? Must he not have compared their behaviour? How servilely impious was the speech of the descendant of *Arfaces*! How noble that of the *british* king!

THIS morning, said the young nobleman, I perused *Dion's* relation of the surprizing magnificence and incredible profusion of *Nero's* court, on account of *Tiridates's* journey and entrance into *Rome*.

I HAVE since been considering, what an idea of *roman* splendour must have been impressed on the mind of the *parthian* prince. I next recollected the sentiments uttered by *Hormisdas*, when he attended hither the son of *Constantine* the Great; and I was, just now, doubting, at which of those times this city appeared in the most noble outward grandeur.

BUT your much more manly reflections ought to draw my attention entirely from such vain thoughts.

INDEED, under all the glitter of *Nero's* court, how much of vile and horrid wickedness was there practised! The blood of *Barea Soranus*,
the

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the imitator of *Scævola* and *Ritilius*, was then shedding*.

NOR was it's pomp less *transitory*. For let us, after admiring the splendour of *Nero* in the *forum*, the *theatre*, and the *circus*, recollect what happened to him only *some few months after*, in the *very place to which we are approaching*.

* * *

THE company were now arrived at *Serpentara*, where the house of *Phaon*, *Nero's* freedman, stood; and where *Nero* himself, in the most mean and miserable manner, breathed his last.

THEY inquired for the reed-ground, in which that vile trembling parricide hid his wretched head. They next looked about for that filthy puddle, too pure however for his hands, of which he drank. They wished to see the situation of that hovel, in which he expired†.

CRITO'S

* ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΣΗΣ ΑΠΕΡΗΣ ΤΑ ΠΡΩΤΑ ΑΝΗΚΟΥΣΙ, ΑΠΕΔΑΥΟΝ ΟΤΩΣ, ΟΤΙ ΤΟΙΣΤΟΙ ΗΣΑΝ.
Dio Cassius.

Baream Soranum — *eques romanus poposcera reum ex proconsulatu Asiæ*; in *quâ offensiones principis auxit, justitiâ atque industriâ*. — *Tempus damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendo Armeniæ regno adventabat.*

Tacit. Annal. lib. xvi. c. 23.

† *Offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum, inter Salariam & Nomentanam viam, circa quartum milliarium, — inter*
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CRITO'S pupil repeated a few *english* verses, in some degree applicable to the subject*. He then proceeded to much more important topics. He reflected, properly, on the folly which accompanied *Nero*, even to his last hour. He considered also, in a very awful manner, the punishments of the other world; those punishments, of which the pains and agonies of death are only the begin-

fruticeta & vepres, per arundineti semitam ægre, ad adversum villæ parietem evasit.—Aquam ex subjectâ lacunâ potaturus manu hausit.—Quadrupes per angustias effossæ cavernæ receptus, in proximam cellam decubuit super lectum modicellâ culcitra, vetere pallio stratu instructum, &c.

Vide *Suetonium*. 48.

Ες καλαμωδιαν τινα τοπον κατεκυρθη* κ' ενταυθα μεχρι της ημερας υπεμεινεν ερριμμενθ, οπως ως ημισα διορωτο* κ' παντα μεν τον παροντα, ως κ' εφ' εαυτον ηκοντα υποπλευων, πασαν δε φωνην ως κ' αναζητησαν αυτον υποτρεμων* ειτε πη κυνιδιον υλαξεν, η κ' ορνιδιον εφδεγχετο, ρωπιον τε κ' κλαδθ υπ' αυρας εσεισθη, δεινως εταραττετο. κ' εθ' ησυχάζειν υπ' αυτων ηδυνάτο, ητ' αυλαλειν τινη των παροντων, μη κ' ετερθ τις ακηση, ετολμα* αλλ' αυθ καθ' εαυτον τη ψυχη κ' εδρηνει κ' αλοφυρετο* ελογιζετο γαρ τα τε αλλα, κ' προσετι οτι πολυανδρωποτατη ποτε θεραπεια γαυρωδεις, μετα τριων εξελευθερων εκυπιαζε. τοιςτον γαρ δραμα τοτε Δαιμονιου αυτω παρεσκευασεν, ινα μηκετι της αλλης ματηροφους κ' αλητας, αλλ' ηδη κ' εαυτον υποκρινηται. Και τοτε μετεγινωσκεν εφ' οis ετετολμηκει* καθαπερ απρακτον τι αυτων ποιησαι δυναμενθ. Νερων μεν δη τοιαυτα ετραγωδει, κ' το επθ εκεινο σινηχως ενενοει,

Οικτρως θανειν μ' ανωγε συγχαμθ, πατης.

Οψε ο'ην ποτε, επειδη μηδεις αυτον αναζητων ευρατο, μετηλθεν εις το αντρον* κανταυθα κ' εφαγε πεινησας αρτον οποιον ηδε πωποτε εβεβρωκει, κ' επει διψησας υδωρ οποιον ηδε πωποτε πιπωκεν. Εφ'ω δυσανασχετησας ειπε, τιτο εστιν εκεινο το ποτον το εμου το απεφθον.

Και ο'μεν εν τ'τοις ην, &c.

Dio. lib. lxxiii.

* See those lines of *Mr. Pope*, on the death-bed of *Villiers*, duke of Buckingham :

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beginning. *Defecit Nero extantibus rigentibusque oculis, usque ad horrorem, formidinemque visentium* *.

DISCOURSING earnestly on this dreadful subject, a subject, which so totally absorbed their attention, as to render them unsusceptible of any other ideas, the young gentlemen returned from *Serpentara to Rome*.

NEAR the *Porta Flaminia* hangs a vast fragment of a ruined wall, commonly known by the name of *Muro Torto*. It is thought to have been part of that mausoleum of the *Domitii*, in which *Nero* was buried †.

*In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors with plaister, and the walls with dung, &c.*

Circumstances of humiliation, like those enumerated in the text, would not have had the least effect on the mind of a wise and good man, when dying: but they were really painful to a *Nero*.

* *Suetonius*. 49.

† Such is the horror still remaining at *Rome* of *Nero's* memory, that to this day the neighbourhood of his grave is the place appointed for the interment of all public malefactors, who die impenitent. Still greater was the terror of this place some ages past; when wailing ghosts were imagined frequently to be seen sitting near it, and the cries and shrieks of hell to be heard from it: an opinion, that gave occasion to the building of the ancient church, which is now standing near it. In so wild an opinion, there was undoubtedly a very great mixture of the ignorance and superstition of the times: but a true philosopher may, notwithstanding, discover in it's origin some genuine suggestions of reason and conscience, and the real strong voice of nature.

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FROM *Muro Torto* they turned into the adjoining entrance of *Villa Borghefe*, and alighted.

* * *

WALKING towards the gardens, they found *Crito*, sitting at the roots of a tall pine: the *Annals of Tacitus*, and the *Memorabilia of Xenophon* lay by him on the grass. His heart seemed overflowing with the calmest happiness; and his countenance, as serene and bright as the morning itself. No wonder; for his mind was then filled with the idea of a dying *Socrates*; with which idea he was comparing the behaviour of *Seneca*, when in the same circumstances.

HE listened with pleasure to his pupil's conjecture, as to the situation of that suburban villa, on the *Nomentan* road, in which *Seneca* died.

BUT his countenance changed, on the other gentlemen's informing him what had been the subject of their conversation, at *Serpentara*, and *Muro Torto*.

HE rose from the ground; and while accompanying his young friends through the grove to the villa, he joined his reflections to their's, and fell into the same track of thought.

FROM

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FROM what has been the subject of your thoughts this morning at *Serpentara*, said *Crito*, you may in some degree conceive, how terrible the pain of self-condemnation must be, when a guilty wretch finds himself *really* drawing near to his last hour.

A BAD conscience is a very tormenting companion, even in times of the greatest health and prosperity *: but it's pangs, it's confusion, it's horrors must be infinitely more terrifying, at the near prospect of dissolution; of the gates of hell; the powers of darkness; and the bitter pains of eternal death.

MAY we all, deeply and frequently, meditate on this! But I hope and pray, that none of this company will ever, ever feel it. O my dear friends! bless GOD that you have, *to appearance*, much time of life before you; that you have strength to employ yourselves in many such works of true faith and love, as will not fail to bring you peace at the last.

WOULD to GOD it were now in my power to display, or worthily to describe to you, the exalted happiness of a *truly christian* death-bed.

* Both *Tiberius* and *Nero* experienced this truth.—*Tiberius omnium mortalium tristissimus*.—*Nero nunquam sceleris conscientiam ferre potuit: sæpe confessus exagitari se maternâ specie, &c.* Sueton, c. 34.

WITH a very inferiour degree of earnestness, I also wish I could present to your thoughts a worthy idea even of *Socrates*, during the last days of his life.

WHAT I have now to show you, is, really, *far inferiour to either of these*; yet it is such, as very well deserves your attention.

SAYING this, *Crito* entered the villa, and turned on his right hand into the first apartment, which is adorned with the famous statue of *Seneca*. That statue represents him, sinking indeed under the languor of death; but with eyes so elevated, and with a gesture of countenance, lips, and hands so very striking, as plainly to point out in what manner he passed his last moments *.

Novissimo

* A print of this statue, taken from a drawing, which *Rubens* brought with him from *Rome* to *Antwerp*, may be seen in the introduction to *Lipsius's* edition of *Seneca's* works: together with the following description of it. *Imago Senecæ ex Lucelleo marmore fabrefacta, inter cardinalis Borgeſii admiranda antiquitatis monumenta cernitur. VERA est effigies in balneo animam jam exhalantis, & in verbis monitisque aureis deficientis: vividum, acre, igneum aliquid refert. Manus digitosque ita exporrectos vides, ut ſapientiæ et conſtantiæ præcepta, advocatis ſcriptoribus, diſtantiem, haud obſcurè cum Tacito agnoſcas: a quibus nec vicinæ mortis cruciatus, ſatis peritè in ipſo vultu ab artifice adumbrati, ſapientem prohibebant. Facies parum formoſa, neſcio quid africanum præ ſe ferat: buccâ hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus diſtentiſ: ut hominem Cordubæ, in Bæticæ provinciæ coloniâ, quæ Africa proximè*

Novissimo quoque momento, continued he, *supeditante eloquentiâ, advocatis scriptoribus, ple-
raque tradidit.* How much is it to be regretted,
that *Tacitus* did not insert that discourse in his
Annals.

THE reasonings of such a man, at such a time ;
that is, of one of the wisest in the philosophical
world, when at it's highest state of wisdom and
experience ; all that he *then* said, in *that hour of
sincerity*, on the excellence of virtue, on the
emptiness of riches, and on the *real* vanity of all
human grandeur, would surely form some of the
most proper and striking lessons of instruction,
for the minds, not only of the youthful, but of
the aged also.

A DEEP silence ensued. The eyes of all the
company continued fixed on those of the statue.

CHAIRS being handed round, they sat down
opposite to it.

*proximè adjacet ; & parentibus cordubensibus natum minimè
requiras.*

*Sed & corpus longâ valetudine, multo studio, & ex Taciti
sententiâ, parvo victu attenuatum paullo attentius considera :
quod cum exercitiis durioribus, cultu agri, & fossione vinearum,
firmasse ipsum constet ; cutis, exhausto succo, laxatæ maciem,
& laboribus induratæ firmitatem, venis musculisque quos labor
maximè attollit extantibus, ingeniosè & diligenter statuarius
effinxit.*

WHILE they were thus engaged, and entering as it were into the very thoughts of *Seneca*; *Crito* communicated to them a sheet or two of paper, which contained several extracts selected by him, from the most sensible and candid authors, both ancient and modern, relative to the *style* and *doctrine* of *Seneca's* writings; as well as to the *history of his life and death*. These extracts were digested in a manner so judicious, as to form a regular kind of *treatise* on the subject.

THAT part of this treatise, which related to the *style* of *Seneca*, was very short. The detail of his *doctrines* seemed to be compiled with much more attention. It comprehended many proofs, both of the *remarkable resemblance* which *Seneca's* philosophy bears, in *several* of it's features, to the Christian morality; and of it's *extreme dissimilitude* to it, in *others* *.

IN the second part of *Crito's* paper, *Seneca's* *actions* and *character* were very fairly stated. The whole concluded with this candid observation, That *Seneca's* failings appear to have much abated, and some of his virtues to have much increased, as he more nearly approached his latter end.

* See *Marfollier's* Life of St. *Francis de Sales*, vol. ii. p. 42.

* * *

AFTER half an hour passed in reading this paper, and conversing on it, the company rose from their seats; and, with some respect, taking their leave of *Seneca's* statue, began to employ their attention upon the other works of sculpture, with which that apartment is adorned. From it they proceeded to the other apartments. More than two hours were occupied in surveying the great number of statues, busts, and basso-relievos, with which this country-palace is filled, in all it's saloons and chambers; and even covered externally, on each of it's four fronts*.

THE young gentlemen being very desirous to pass the remainder of the day amidst such a profusion of *vertù*, obtained the *majordomo's* consent to it. They dined on some cold provision, which one of their servants had brought from *Rome*; in a charming grotto, on a table of white

* The structure itself is quadrangular. The four sides of it are decorated with beautiful antique statues and basso-relievos, curiously and appositely ranged. But, as the prodigious variety of them renders it impossible to give a particular account of each piece, I shall only mention the most remarkable; which are the bust of *Geta*, *Trajan*, &c. The whole circumference of the building is 734 palms: each being nine inches, or a quarter of a royal *Paris* foot.

See *Keyser's Travels*.
marble

marble of one piece, inlaid with brocatello, twenty palms in length, and eight in breadth *.

AFTER dinner, *Crito's* pupil turned the conversation to the history of the person, who built this sumptuous villa.

IF I be not misinformed, said he, it was cardinal *Scipio* : who in his youth lived in a state of poverty and obscurity, deserted by his own family ; but was charitably received under the protection and patronage of the *Borghese*. Rising afterwards to a very great fortune, he took the name of his benefactor ; and, from a principle of gratitude, erected this splendid fabric ; leaving it to the descendants of that family, to which he had been indebted for his own exaltation.

I AM not acquainted with the other parts of the history of this cardinal : but these circumstances of it, if true, are very amiable.

It might however be wished, for the cardinal's further honour, that this villa had been somewhat less pompous and rich. Had this country seat been adorned, not with such royal magnificence, but with proper ecclesiastical sim-

* *Keyfler.*

plicity,

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plicity, humility, and neat rural beauty; the cardinal's behaviour would certainly have been much more truly laudable. In such a case, we might perhaps have compared his gratitude to that of *Aristonous**.

BUT the afternoon is wearing away. Shall we take a walk round the garden? The beauty of it's plantations is surely, at least, as pleasing an object, as the sculptured marbles in any of those grand apartments.

THE company, after drinking each a glass of fresh *aqua virgine*, now left the grotto, and made the circuit of the gardens; passing through a great variety of flower-beds, fountains, and shades†. They sat down, at the end of their long walk, on a green bank, thickly covered with laurels.

IT now began to draw towards evening, when the conversation took at length a more *classical* turn.

* See the history of *Aristonous*, generally subjoined to the Adventures of *Telemachus*.

† *Son circuit est de trois milles, ou d'une lieue de France.— On peut dire que cet endroit est délicieux, par la beauté de ses plantations, de ses bois, & de ses eaux: il est peuplé de chevreuils, des daims, de lièvres, & de faisans, que l'on y voit en troupes: & par tout, l'utile y est mêlé avec l'agréable; avec autant d'ordre, que d'élégance.*

Voyages d'Abbé Richard, tome vi. p.188.

THE

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THE eldest of the young gentlemen, with a short apology, desired *Crito* and his young friends to bestow some of their thoughts on the character of *Thraseas*.

THRASEAS.

ELDEST.

HE was, perhaps, one of the most humane and best of men, though he lived in an age of the greatest wickedness and cruelty. Under the reign of a *Nero*, *Thraseas* equalled, if not surpassed, the virtues of a *Cato*.

THE condition of the times, indeed, would not suffer so wise a man to attempt imitating *Cato* in his strong struggles for liberty, and in his unyielding resistance to tyranny and usurpation: for all the strength of *roman* freedom had long since perished. Its spirit also, generally speaking, had departed. Nothing but the form of the old constitution, its name, and its ceremonies, were now subsisting.

YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

SUCH being the state of public affairs, I should be glad to know what were the *peculiar virtues* of
this

this *roman* nobleman. For, if I be not mistaken, *Thraseas* was a person of the highest rank and fortune in his country.

ELDEST.

It might be answered, in the first place, The most exalted and venerable sanctity of private life; and, in the second place, The most undaunted and patient expectation of death. In each of these particulars, he was even superiour to *Cato*.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

I CANNOT help thinking, that the behaviour of *Thraseas*, at his death, was at least equal to that of his great contemporary, *Seneca*. In his life, perhaps *Thraseas* far excelled him. If I say wrong in this, I shall gladly receive correction from you and my tutor.

CRITO.

I COULD wish, that we had more particulars of the life of *Thraseas* preserved to us in history. But with regard to *Seneca*, as was observed this morning, it seems but too evident, that some parts of his life by no means answered to the goodness of the rest. Your friend compares *Thraseas* to *Cato*.

Why

Why may we not look upon *Seneca* as a *faint image of Tully*? *Seneca's* eloquence was much admired at *Rome*. In saying this, I do not pretend to judge of the literary taste of his age; but whatever may be the merits or defects of his style, his *sentiments*, surely, are often very noble. Some of *Seneca's* writings are perhaps the most valuable effusions of moral philosophy in heathen *Rome*.

AND yet *Seneca*, like his illustrious predecessor in oratory and philosophy, sunk very low, when tried in adversity; and when in prosperity, he grew too fond of riches and honours.

IT must, alas! be acknowledged, that in *Seneca's* history there are stains, the memory of which has not been, and cannot be wiped away, either by the many great and real virtues of his life, or by the magnanimity displayed at his last hour. These stains he probably incurred by his extreme confidence in his own virtue, which, as he presumptuously flattered himself, was superiour to all temptations, whether of prosperity, or of adversity; and by his blind, and even impious pride, which attributed whatever was good in his own breast to himself alone.

I HAVE sometimes inclined to wish, that the history of *Seneca's* failings had been buried in
utter

utter oblivion: but on more serious thoughts, I am convinced, that it is much better as it is. For, as they may justly be considered to have been a kind of humiliating judgment on *him*; so it is certain, that we may deduce from them some very important instructions for *ourselves*.

BUT let me not repeat, what I said this morning concerning *Seneca*. As to the character of *Thraseas*, so far perhaps as we *can* judge, from the *short* accounts we have of his life, it appears to have been much more uniformly noble. I do not at present recollect any marks in it of stoical pride, though he was reckoned of that sect of philosophers; or on the other hand, any symptoms of that usual consequence of pride, degeneracy. But I forget myself: I am interrupting you. Pray proceed.

I WISH, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that I was in the least worthy to speak on such a character. Yet, however unworthy, permit me to add, that *Thraseas*, though he gained a very high reputation, by the virtue which he practised in his *private* life; a life, too, happily extended to an advanced old age; did not omit, to the utmost of his abilities, the doing of those *public* services to his country, which the condition of the times would allow.

HE

HE was, indeed, a senator: but that office, formerly so high, was *then* become of little *real* dignity, and invested with still less ability of doing good. In this station, however, contracted as it was, and shrunk in it's powers and privileges, did *Thraseas* frequently display an example of great patriotic fortitude, and of sound civil wisdom, duly attempered together.

HE formed the plan of several salutary laws: he proposed them to the house; and by the weight of his wisdom and goodness carried them through it. He checked, in some degree, the oppression and rapine of the governors, and *intendants*, of several *roman* provinces. He gave some check also, to the tyranny of *Nero* himself.

WHILE the majority, and almost the whole body of the *roman* legislature, behaved as the most abject flatterers, and servile instruments of the wickedness of their tyrant; *Thraseas* alone supported the true dignity of the senatorial character*.

WITH the noblest indignation he refused to join them in the approbation of their sovereign's crimes. More than once he boldly left his seat,

* *Offensione manifestâ principis suetâ animi magnitudine, non recessit Thraseas a sententiâ.*

when

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when such matters were under deliberation*; and went out of the senate-house, openly rejoicing, that although *death* might be the consequence of his bold integrity, it was not in the emperor's power to inflict on him, by such a punishment, any real hurt†.

WITH a firm and honest perseverance in the same sentiments, he actually met his death. *Trucidatis tot insignibus viris*, says Tacitus, *ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thraseâ‡.*

It has been frequently exemplified, by the histories of many patriots, that integrity naturally produces courage. Ethic writers have also, I think, observed, that where the faculties of the soul are fraught with various kinds of moral excellence, fortitude will generally be found deeply rooted in the centre of the heart. Such, certainly, was the case with *Thraseas*.

* Θρασεας ητε εις το βουλευτηριον συνεχως, ως ηχ' αρεσκομεν τοις ψηφισμενοις, απηντα. Dio. lib. lxii.

† Τοιουτου μεν ο Θρασεας εγενετο, η τωτο αις προ αυτου ελεγε. Ο μεν Νερων αποκτειναι με δυναται, βλαψαι δε ου. Dio. lib. lxi.

Somewhat similar to this was the answer of a celebrated *englishman*; who, on being told by a great lord of the court, that it was perilous striving with princes; *Indignatio principis mors est*; replied, "Is that all, my Lord? Then, in good faith, the difference between your grace and me is but this only; that I shall die to day, and you to-morrow.

‡ *Annal.* xvi. 21.

BUT, let me pause now for a few moments. Let me desire you to consider the state of this great man's family; and to contemplate the virtuous persons that composed it; who, probably, owed the greatness of their virtues, to a mutual imitation of each other's excellencies.

SURELY, my dear noble friend, there never was a better subject for a family-picture. How happy would you be, next month, while at *Naples*, if among the antique paintings, which are now discovering at *Herculaneum*, a good piece should be found representing *Thraseas*, in conversation with his family and friends, on the day of his death!

SUCH a subject, had the persons lived in more modern times, would not have been unworthy the pencil even of a *Holbein*.

CANNOT you imagine such a composition as this now before your eyes? The principal figure in it *Thraseas* himself; *venerabili specie*; the most virtuous character of his age and country. On one hand, his son-in-law, *Helvidius Priscus*; on the other, his grand-son, *Pliny the Younger*, and his friend, the famous *Rusticus Arulenus*. In the back ground, the tomb of his mother; the celebrated *Arria*.

BUT

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BUT you can much better design and arrange such a *painting* than myself. Let me no longer expose my ignorance, by pretending to talk on so fine an art. Let *me* think only on the *tableau de l'histoire*.

THRASEAS'S wife and son-in-law, with *Arulenus*, and many other friends, attended him in his last hour. While the senate was sitting in anxious deliberation, though surrounded with *Nero's* guards, on passing *Thraseas's* sentence of death, a sentence, which indeed they did not wade through, *sine summâ maestitiâ, ac pavore*; that worthy man was conversing with his friends in his garden: and very probably, with great calmness and tranquillity of mind; although he knew, that he should never again behold the vegetative beauties of nature, or review the glories of that setting sun.

POSSIBLY the situation of *Thraseas's* garden might not be far distant from this of the *Villa Borgheze*. At least there is no reason why we may not indulge ourselves in the fanciful imagination. With that idea, permit me to read to you some passages, which I have extracted from *Tacitus*.

Tum ad Thraseam in hortis quæstor consulis missus, vesperscente jam die.—Ibi illustrium virorum fæminarumque cætus agebat, maximè intentus Demetrio philosopho; cum quo inquirebat de naturâ animæ, & dissociatione spiritûs corporisque.*
—Quando Arulenus offerebat se intercessurum senatûs consulto, (nam plebis tribunus erat;) cohibuit spiritus ejus Thraseas, nè vana, et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet†.—Conjugem tentantem exemplum Arriæ matris sequi, monet retinere vitam; how superiour in this to Seneca!—filiaque communi subsidium unicum non adimere.—Flentes amicos, (nuntiatum enim jam erat de condemnatione) faceffere propere hortatur, non pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati‡.

THEN, *progressus in porticum*, he met the officers, guards, and executioners. He received his death-warrant, *lætitiæ propior, quia Helvidium, generum suum, Italiâ tantum arceri cognoverat.* For he had feared, lest *Helvidius* should have been sentenced to die with him.

* This *Demetrius* is probably the same person, whose praises we often find recited in *Seneca*. *Demetrius* (says that writer) *vir meo judicio magnus, etiam si maximis comparatur.*—But see the history of his degeneracy from this great character in *Tacitus's* account of the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign.

† *Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. 26.*

‡ *Ib. c. 34.*

Helvidium,

Helvidium, dehinc, & Demetrium in cubiculum inducit; porrectisque utriusque brachii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, propius vocato quæstore, "Libemus, inquit, Jovi Liberatori;"—the very expression of Seneca.*

"Specta, juvenis: & omen quidem dii prohibeant; cæterum, in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediet constantibus exemplis."

*Post, lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus affe-
rente, obversus in Demetrium†—*What a pity it is,
that the manuscript of *Tacitus* should here break
off so abruptly!

PROBABLY the dying words, which *Thraseas* addressed to his philosophical friend, *Demetrius*, were not less worthy of attention than the last discourse of *Seneca*.

IN my younger days, I have lamented the great chasms and ruins in the august fabric of *Livy's* history. But in my present disposition of mind, were it in my power to restore intire, either the work of *Livy*, or of *Tacitus*, I know not which I should prefer: though certainly a very considerable part of the times described in *Tacitus's*

* *Tacit.* Annal, lib. xv. c. 64. † *Ibid.* xvi. 36.

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writings was very inferiour, in public virtue, to some of the epochs contained in the decads of *Livy*.

THE young gentleman then took out of his pocket a small edition of *Tacitus*; and read to his friends some of that sensible writer's complaints on this head.

HE would probably have added some further reflections on this subject; but the cold dew of the evening reminded him, that it was proper to think of returning to their lodgings.

THE company now rose from their grassy seat, and walked to that garden gate, which opens near the *Porta Penciana*. On their way, *Crito* made several short, but pertinent observations, on the excessive wickedness, that prevailed, in government, during most part of the life of *Thraseas*.

THE young nobleman recollected the names of many contemporary virtuous *romans*, who ended their days in the same cruel manner, and proceeded to some very sensible reflections, on the extreme meanness of the *roman* senate, which could, with base timidity, consent to condemn to death such men; eminent not only for their innocence, but for their active merit.

YET,

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YET such, said he, was once the case, in *England*; even in the trial of peers. Thankful ought we to be, that our lot has fallen on a better age! thankful to a benign Providence, that the times of extreme persecution and tyranny so rarely occur in the history of the world. But the mention just now made of the name of *Holbein* necessarily recalls to my memory the history of the *Tudor* family; particularly the reign of *Henry VIII.* Horrid indeed was that despotic era! It was not only the house of peers, which then suffered in that manner: the same tyranny prevailed over common juries, in capital trials; the same tyranny prevailed in acts of attainder, passed by the whole legislature. How, *then*, did the parliament of *England* appear? Alas! it sadly resembled that despicable senate, which could crouch at the foot-stool even of a *Tiberius*, or a *Nero*.

It seems a very considerable consolation, however, replied *Crito*, that as the annals of *Nero's* reign contain the history of a *Thraseas*; so that era of *english* tyranny, in like manner, was not destitute of many virtuous characters; and particularly one, in some respects, very similar: a character even superiour to the most illustrious, whether of *Greece* or *Rome*, in their noblest excellencies. In virtue, and in patriotism; in con-

tempt of wealth; in patience, temperance, and even love of poverty! integrity, unmoved by any ambitious prospect or temptation, of honour, or power; intrepidity and magnanimity, unshaken by menaces; unappall'd by dangers; or even by death itself!

It is almost superfluous to add his name: a name, justly revered by all *englishmen*, however various in their sentiments, either on political or religious subjects. And this is the more extraordinary, as he suffered on a religious account; and is said, how truly I cannot tell, to have been himself sometimes *cruel* in religious matters. In other respects, his behaviour was most amiable, most respectable, most pious. He was the *Aristides*, the *Phocion*, the *Fabricius*, the *Thraseas* of *England*.—He was SIR THOMAS MORE.

I HAVE at my lodgings a *small* collection of some of his works; particularly his letters, meditations, and devotions, while in the *Tower*. Permit me to recommend it for your perusal to-night, after supper.

THE summer before last, I remember, I employed part of an afternoon, in a boat on the *Thames*, reading the life of sir *Thomas More*.

I took

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I took boat at *Chelsea*; and was gently rowed down the river, passing between *Lambeth* and *Westminster Hall*. In *Mr Thomas's* life frequent mention is made of each of those three places. On my landing at the *Tower* gate, I recollected *Mr Thomas's* last interview there with his daughter. I cast my eye along the side of those ancient walls, and looked up for the grated window of his prison. In walking over *Tower-Hill*, I stopped, with reverence for the spot, at that place of execution, whence his innocent, virtuous, pious soul took her flight to heaven.

C H A P. VII.TWENTY-FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

CRITO, about eight o'clock this morning, on entering the young nobleman's apartment, found his three young friends, as usual, deeply engaged together in study. He drew a chair, and sat down among them.

THE table was covered with several books of antiquities and history, scattered among which, lay many coins of the upper empire; and two or three drawers full of a series of impressions in wax, taken from antique seals, that bore the royal, and most of the *principal* republican, heads of *Rome*.

WE have been imagining, said the young nobleman, that there is some kind of resemblance between the beginning and ending of the imperial *Cæsarean* family, and those of the ancient *kings of Rome*.

JULIUS,

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JULIUS, who founded the grandeur of the *Cæsarean* family, seems, not only in the great abilities of his mind, and in the manner and place of his death, but also in other particulars *, to bear a strong similitude to *Romulus*. *Augustus*, in the mildness and tranquillity of above forty years of his reign, was perhaps, in some small degree, a faint image of the good *Numa*. The history of the *Cæsarean* family ends in a *Nero*, just as the series of monarchs closed with *Tarquin*.

BUT *Nero* greatly surpassed *Tarquin* in wickedness: and far distant, do I believe, you would kindly have endeavoured to turn our thoughts from the history of *his* vile life; had you not thought, that the memory of those good men, who suffered under the cruel tyranny of a *Nero*, justly claimed much respect from us, during our prosecution of this part of our course of *roman* studies.

THEY do, indeed, deserve much respect, replied *Crito*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now opened *Dion's* works; and, turning to the sixtieth book, read two or three lines.

* See the INTRODUCTION to this Work, vol. I. p. xxiv.

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Τπο της συνεχειας των κακων εις τστο τα πραγματα
προεληλυθει, ως' αρετην μηκετ' αλλο μηδεν, η το γενναιως
αποθανειν, νομιζεσθαι.

A NOBLE philosophic fortitude, said he, able to meet death in cool blood, seems to have been the peculiar turn, which the temper of the old *romans* adopted, during the latter reigns of the *Cæsarean* family.

THE magnanimity of these suffering heroes, replied *Crito's* pupil, was perhaps at least equally as laudable, as the military courage of their progenitors. Such, at least, we may easily imagine to have been the sentiment of a *Seneca*, or of a *Demetrius*.

THEIR fortitude, said *Crito*, was indeed very remarkable. And although their conduct was not so void of defect, but that considerable objections may be made to it; yet, in general, the history of their sufferings may prove to *us* a very useful branch of study.

THIS was your topic yesterday evening, as you were walking out of the gardens of the *Villa Borghese*. I have since been thinking much, and indeed almost during the whole night, upon the subject:

subject: and, in consequence, on rising this morning, I committed my thoughts to paper.

So saying, *Crito* laid upon the table a sheet or two of paper. Their contents were as follows: their title was

SUFFERING VIRTUE.

* * *

FANNIUS, the friend of *Pliny*, wrote an account of the last hours of those many illustrious persons, who suffered under *Nero* *. It is, probably, much to be lamented, that this work is not now extant.

SUCH a history, my dear pupil, if elegantly composed, would have presented to your view many scenes of afflicted innocence, described in a masterly style: scenes much more real, and consequently much more moving, than any contained in the finest set of tragedies, written on the same favourite subject of *Suffering Virtue*.

NOR would the effects of such a history be less, were we to suppose it to have been composed in the plainest manner; provided it were judicious and faithful. The facts contained in it would

* Vid. *Pliny's* Epistle to *Maximus*, book v. p. 5.

make

make us ashamed to complain, or be dispirited, at any of the little adversities, real or imaginary, which may happen to ourselves: nay, they would, in some measure, serve to prepare *us also* for supporting the greatest trials, if ever we should be called to them.

PERMIT me, my dear pupil, to express my idea, in some lines from *Seneca's* consolation to his mother *Helvia*, blended with a few expressions, which I remember to have been used by *Tully*.

Fleant & gemant, quorum delicatas mentes longa voluptatum contemplatio enervavit; quâ cum diffluimus, nec apud aculeum ferre possumus; & ad levissimarum injuriarum motus collabantur. Nos autem, talium virorum exempla spectantes, & inter hæc studia nutritos, pudeat laborem & calamitatem ægrè ferre.

Feramus vulnera fortunæ, velut veterani; sine ululatu, sine vociferatione. Libera sit nostra virtus; inviolabilis; inconcussa; adversus apparatus terribilium rectos oculos teneat. Nihil ex vultu mutet.

TULLY, if I rightly understand his words, hints to us the best method of acquiring fortitude. *Vereor, ne non tam virtutis fiducia nitendum nobis,*
ad

ad spem beatè vivendi, quam vota facienda videntur *.

BUT let not my pen wander too far from the subject proposed. It might perhaps be wished, not only that *Fannius's* work had been preserved; but that the same good fortune had protected those other judicious authors, for such probably there were, whose writings described the sufferings of roman virtue, during the three preceding reigns: namely, under the malice of *Tiberius*, the madness of *Caligula*, and the reiterated stupidity of *Claudius*.

WERE those writings still extant, they would probably, on this occasion, have been lying upon your table; bound up, in one large volume, together with the work of *Fannius*.

A DISMAL volume! for dismal, surely, were the events of the civil history of this great and wretched metropolis, from the middle of *Tiberius's* reign, to the end of that of *Nero*: *an epoch of about forty years!*

I WISH I had been diligent enough, in my late studies of the history of that period, to have extracted from the fragments of *Tacitus*, *Dion*, and

* *Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. Cap. 1.*

some

some other books, a catalogue of the illustrious sufferers. The length of that catalogue, and the splendour of the names contained in it, would have been very striking and instructive; even though I had not endeavoured to subjoin to it any particular account, either of their respective sufferings, or of their characters.

IN truth, the historians of that dreadful epoch seem to have been fatigued with so long a series of cruelty. The expressions of *Tacitus* are very striking: *Neque sum ignarus, à plerisque scriptoribus omiſſa multorum pericula & pœnas, dum copiâ fatiſcunt; aut, quæ iſſis nimia & mœſta fuerant, ne pari tædio lecturos adſicerent, verentur* *. For the ſake of poſterity, however, it might have been wiſhed, that *Tacitus* himſelf had been more particular in the characters he gives of ſeveral of the ſufferers: whoſe virtues were in his time generally known and celebrated in the world; but, by his omiſſion of them, are now either partly loſt, or wholly buried in oblivion.

YET let us not at *preſent* indulge ourſelves, idly, in lamenting either the omiſſions of the *roman* hiſtorians, or the wide ravages and deſtruction of time on their works. We have the leſs reaſon to lament them, becauſe we find in *other*

* *Annal. lib. vi. c. 7.*

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histories of the same epocha, examples of a much higher merit very fully delineated: examples, far more edifying to us, as to the practice of *virtue* in general; whether, as men of the world, we call that virtue *fortitude*; or, as christians *patience*.

LET us now, my fellow-students, for the remainder of *this* day, lay aside all heathen history: let us lift up our hearts to much higher meditations.

As the heathen annals of *Rome*, in this age, sufficiently inform us, that *prosperity* is not without many fears and much disrelish; even so does the history of christian religion show us in a much stronger light, that *virtuous adversity* is not without many comforts, many hopes; and that felicity of heart, which is infinitely heightened by the assured prospect of a happy immortality, and by the assistance of GRACE DIVINE.

In cruce robur mentis; summa virtutis; perfectio sanctitatis; gaudium etiam spiritûs; & supernæ suavitatis infusio.*

O, my dear friends! ye are all so prudent and judicious, that I can need no apology for the

* Imitatio Christi, lib. ii. c. 12. § 4.

freedom I take, in so often communicating to you those thoughts, with which my own heart is filled; and from the abundance of which, on every proper occasion, it is so ready to overflow.

BUT, on the present occasion, permit me to speak more at large. Surely I ought not *now* to confine my pen to some short hint, or faint allusion, pointing, like a bad compass, with much unsteadiness towards some religious object. We are called, in the studies of this day, to fix our thoughts on such an object, as invariably, and as intensely as possible.

LET us remember, that *the period of forty years*, of which we were just now speaking, was the epoch of Suffering Virtue; not with regard to *Rome* only, but in respect of *the whole world*. It was so, in the greatest degree; κατ' ἐξοχήν.

DURING that period was imprisoned, and beheaded, that most just and holy man, of whose festival this afternoon is the eve: I mean *St. John the Baptist*. Of him, the *Word of Truth* itself said, That among those born of women, there had not arisen a greater or a brighter character. *St. John* was great, not in worldly honours, not in the erroneous judgment and foolish opinion

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opinion of men; but he was great indeed:—

Μεγας ην ενωπιον τς ΘΕΟΥ*.

HE was a prophet, and more than a prophet: the worthy harbinger of the world's Redeemer.

HIS spotless innocence, his unparalleled spirit of mortification, prayer, and retirement, his zeal and charity were wonderful: but the foundation of all his virtues, the crown of all his greatness, was sincere humility. The name, which was given to him from heaven, justly signified, *full of grace*;—the gift of GOD.

OF such a life, let us now ask, a life so holy and so pure, what were the comforts, and what was the conclusion? Little reason surely has any pious man, either to complain of the sufferings, or to love what are called the good things of this world. With devout resignation let him rather consider the lot appointed to *St. John* the Baptist.

THE life of *St. John* consisted of about two and thirty years. They were *thus* passed.

FROM his infancy, to his thirtieth year, he lived in the desert, in great austerity. From the desert he entered on the labours of his public mi-

* Divi Luc. cap. i. ver. 15.

nistry; which continued for about fifteen months. By the tyranny of *Herod* he was then committed to *prison*; where, during twelve months, he was *confined*, and at last *murdered*. Such was *his* lot.

Beatus vir, qui suffert tentationem; quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ, quam repromisit DEUS diligentibus se.*

THE history of *St. John* the Baptist may be considered as one of the greatest examples of Suffering Virtue, that the world had ever seen, since it's creation. But it is as nothing, in comparison with that, which I am now going to mention. How ought my feeble hand to tremble, in writing these lines!

DURING this same period of forty years, our Lord and Saviour *JESUS CHRIST* himself—— But let *me* not dare to proceed on that awful subject. May you all, my dear, and ever valued young friends, reserve it for your more private, and most solemn thoughts!

PROSTRATE, in the devotions of your closets, may you duly reflect, that, *forasmuch as CHRIST hath suffered for us, we ought also to arm ourselves with the same mind. Let us not think it strange,*

* Epist. *St. Jacobi*, cap. i. ver. 12.

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if we also be called to the same trial. The servant is not greater than his Lord. Let us pray for grace, that with a ready mind we may faithfully take up our cross daily, and follow Him.

* * *

ON concluding this paper the company separated: each person retiring to his lodgings, impressed with the most solemn meditations.

AT ten o'clock they met again on the terras; where they found the young nobleman's carriage waiting for them. They went into it; and by *Crito's* desire directed the coachman to drive to *St. Paul's*.

THEY passed along the *Corso*; where they stopped, for some time, to visit the church of *Santa Maria in viâ latâ*, and its subterranean apartments.

THEY afterwards proceeded through the rest of the city and suburbs: then passed within sight of *Monte Testaccio*, and went out of the *Ostian gate*.

TRAVELLING another mile, they arrived at that venerable *Basilica*, which *Constantine* the

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Great erected to the memory of *St. Paul*; and which, in the following century, the emperors *Theodosius* and *Honorius* considerably enlarged*.

It's dimensions are very great. It's breadth within the walls exceeds that of the piazza *Navona*: that piazza, which was the ancient *Circus Agonalis*, and which at present is the principal square, if so improper a term may be used, of modern *Rome*.

THE most remarkable ornament of this spacious church consists of several vast pillars of *egyptian* granite; and of four rows of columns, the innermost of which are peculiarly stately and beautiful, being composed of the richest *grecian* marbles.

It's ancient *mosaics* are also curious; but it's roof and pavement are very disproportionally mean†.

THIS

* At the upper end of this basilica are to be seen the two following verses, in ancient characters:

*Theodosius cæpit, perfecit Honorius aulam,
Doctoris mundi sacramentum corpore PAULI.*

Questa chiesa fu fondata da Constantino—la fabbrica in questo luogo in un podere di S. Lucina Madrona Romana; in cui vi era anche il suo cimiterio di S. S. Martiri, e vi fu sepolto per la prima volta l'apostolo S. Paolo da Timoteo suo discepolo: il detto cimiterio e sotto questa chiesa, & vi si cala dalla appresso l'altar maggiore.

Mer. Errante.

See also *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Paul*; sect. 2.

† The pavement is composed of innumerable fragments
of

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THIS church, being situate about two miles distant from the parts of *Rome*, which are now inhabited, is but little frequented. Solitude and silence generally reign in all it's chapels, and long ailes.

THE company passed here an hour with great satisfaction. The remarkable coolness of the place breathed a very agreeable refreshment around them; their minds were soothed into tranquillity and quiet meditation, by the cooings of the many doves, which were sometimes perched on the roof, sometimes flying among the timbers.

SUCH were the pleasing sensations of these three worthy young men, when their tutor led them to that place, in the middle of the church, where part of the mortal remains of *St. Paul* is said to

of ancient tomb-stones, put together without order. The roof is of plain timber. In *Theodosius's* time the roof was all gilt, and is so described by a contemporary writer:

Parte aliâ titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,

Quâ stringit amnis cespitem sinistrum.

Regia pompa loci est: princeps bonus has sacravit arces,

Lusitque magnis ambitum talentis.

Bracteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta

Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.

Subdidit & parias fulvis laquearibus columnas,

Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.

Tum camuros hyalo insigni variè cucurrit arcus,

Sic prata vernis floribus renident.

PRUDENTIUS, in passione Apost. Petri, et Pauli, v. 45.
Vid. Corp. Poet. 1620.

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be still reposing. *Crito* here presented to them a paper, containing some extracts from the conclusion of *St. Chrysostom's* last homily on *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Romans* *.

As soon as the young gentlemen had perused this short paper, *Crito*, in a tone of voice expressive of the greatest humility, yet with a flow of eloquence far superiour to his usual style; in a style, indeed, almost worthy of the subject; began to speak of those particulars in *St. Paul's* character, which are proper objects, not only of the admiration, but of the imitation also of every christian.

* Εγώ κ' την Ρωμην δια τ'ετο φίλω· και τοι γε αυτην και ιερωνειχων επαινειν, κ' απο τε μεγαδης, κ' απο της αρχαιοτητος, κ' απο τε καλδης, κ' απο τε πηλιδης, κ' απο της δυνασειας, κ' απο τε πλετης, κ' απο των κατορθωμάτων των εν πολεμω· αλλα παντα ταυτα αφεις, δια τ'ετο αυτην μακαριζω, οτι (Παυλ'·) κ' ζων αυτοις εγγραφει, κ' ουτως αυτης εφίλει, κ' παρων αυτοις διελεχθη, κ' τον βιον εκει κατελυσε· διο κ' επισημ'· η πολις εντευθεν μαλλον, η απο των αλλων απαντων—δια ταυτα θαυμαζω την πολιν, ε δια τον χρυσον τον πολυν, ε δια της κιονας, ε δια την αλλην φαντασιαν.—Τις μοι νυν εδωκε περιχυθηναι τω σωματι Παυλ'·, κ' προσηλωθηναι τω ταφω, κ' την κονιν ιδειν τε σωματ'· εκεινη;—την κονιν τε σωματ'·,—δι' ου ελαλει εναντιον βασιλεων, κ' εκ ησχυετο;—τυραννης επεφομισε,—την οικημενην τω ΘΕΩ προσηγαγε·—την κονιν της καρδιας, η ετω πλατεια ην ως κ' πολεις ολοκληρης δεχισθαι, κ' δημης, κ' εδ'η—την καρδιαν εκεινην πυρμενην καθ' εκασον των απολλυμενων,—την καινην ζησασαν ζων, ε ταυτην την ημετεραν. Ζω γαρ εκετι εγω, ζη δε εν εμοι, φησιν, ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ.—Εβλεμην την κονιν ιδειν των χειρων, των εν αλυσει,—δι' ων ταυτα τα γραμματα εγγραφετο·—την κονιν των ποδων των περιδραμοντων την οικημενην, κ' μη καμνοντων, των εν ξυλω δεδεμενων, ηνικα το δεσμωτηριον εσεισε.—Μη τοιουν θαυμαζωμεν αυτον μονον,—αλλα κ' μιμωμεθα, ινα καταξιωθωμεν κ' εντευθεν απελθοντες αυτον ιδειν (εν ερανις) κ' της απορητης δοξης μετασχειν· ης γενοιτο παντας ημας επιτυχειν χαριτι κ' φιλανθρωπια τ'ε Κυρι' ημων ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, μεθ' ΟΥ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ, αμα τω ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ δοξα, κρατ'·, τιμη, νυν κ' αι, κ' εις της αιωνας των αιωνων, Αμην.

He

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He spoke of the piety, and the charity; the humility, the zeal, and the patience of this holy apostle.

O that in these things, said he, we could as well become imitators of St. Paul, as He was of a far greater person!*

THE young gentlemen now recollected several exalted passages in the writings of this distinguished apostle, and enumerated many shining incidents in the history of his life. They were beginning to speak more fully on these topics, when the conversation was unexpectedly interrupted, by the arrival of some *italian* and *maltese* gentlemen, with whom our *english* company were acquainted.

THUS accidentally met, the gentlemen conversed together for a few minutes, and then respectfully separated. The *maltese* and *italians* continued in the church; and the *english* party, very desirous to pursue the present interesting topic, proceeded in their carriage to the neighbouring valley of *Aquæ Salvæ*.

* * *

* *Non aliter IPSE intravit.*

THE

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THE valley of *Aquæ Salviæ* is a very retired spot, that seems almost uninhabited. Not a farmhouse, no village, or any other building is to be seen here; three chapels only excepted, which stand in the middle of a green pasture.

IN one of these chapels is an exquisite picture of the crucifixion of *St. Peter*, executed by *Guido Rheni*: in another are the figures of the twelve apostles, from the school of *Raphael*.

AFTER the young nobleman, and the rest of this *english* company, had passed a quarter of an hour in admiring these paintings, they sat down on a grassy bank, near the porch of the chapel.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to return to the subject, on which you were just now speaking: I mean the history of *St. Paul*.

IT is remarkable, that many of his writings bear some relation to *Rome*, or at least to *Italy*.

THE epistle to the *hebrews* was written by him, when in *Italy*. That to the *romans*, as appears by the title, is addressed to the christian inhabitants of this city. The epistles to the *galatians* and *ephesians*, to the *philippians*, and the *colossians*, were all composed by *St. Paul*, while
resident

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resident in this metropolis. The same may be said of his letter to the beloved, the faithful, the charitable *Philemon*; and of his second epistle to *Timotheus*: which epistle, indeed, was *St. Paul's* last work; and according to *St. Chrysostom*, may justly be considered as his last testament *.

I THINK, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, we were informed this morning, in the *viâ latâ*, that the *Acts* of the Apostles were written, or at least finished, at *Rome*, by *St. Luke*, under the inspection of *St. Paul*.

THAT opinion seems indeed very probable, replied *Crito*, as the book concludes with the account of *St. Paul's* being brought prisoner hither from *Judæa* †.

* See *Tillemont's History of St. Paul*; article 49.

Il n'écrivoit pas simplement à St. Timothée pour l'appeller auprès de lui; mais pour l'exhorter, tout de nouveau, à s'acquitter de tous les devoirs d'un évêque & d'un docteur, avec un zèle digne de tant de grâces qu'il avoit recues; & avec un généreux mépris de tous les maux de ce monde; puisque l'esprit du christianisme n'est point un esprit de crainte, mais de courage & d'amour; & que tous ceux qui veulent vivre avec piété en Jeshu Christ, doivent être persécutés: comme il le voyoit par son exemple.

Κατωπαθσων, ως καλῶς πατιωτης ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

† Vide *St. Hieronymi Catal. Vir. Illustrium* c. 7. and *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Luke*, p. 181. par. 5. It is said however by some, that the *Acts* of the Apostles were written at *Alexandria* by *St. Luke*, the year after *St. Paul* had left *Rome*, to visit the farther parts of *Italy*.—Vide *Prolegomena Millii*, p. xiv.

How

How happy would it have been, said *Crito's* pupil, if *St. Luke* had lived long enough to have completed the history of *St. Paul* by the addition of a second book of the *Acts**?

WITH regard to the sacred writings, replied *Crito*, there is no doubt, but that every thing has been ordered infinitely for the best. And yet, it seems equally certain, that there must have been very noble materials for a *second* part of the *Acts* of the Apostles. If, as you observe, a book of this sort had been confined alone to *St. Paul's* history, its contents must have been very glorious. Among other things, it would have contained his second journey to *Rome*, and the series and result of his transactions here. Including both his journies, *St. Paul* lived a considerable time in this city; teaching not the chief of the jews only but many of the gentiles also; particularly several even of *Cæsar's* household. Here were his glorious chains displayed in the presence of the whole *prætorium*: Hither was he brought, twice, before the face of the lion; that is, *Nero**: and after his long

* *Arabicus vitæ Sti Lucæ, apud Kirstenium scriptor ipsum Romæ, idque non diu post primam S. Pauli e carcere solutionem passum (i.e. martyrio affectum) esse vult; redditâ hâc ratione, quod si diutius vixisset, Actuum Apostolicorum historiam longius protraxisset.* See Dr. Cave's *Seculum Apostol.* Hist. Liter.

† *Στομα λεοντος** 2 TIM. iv. 17. Eusebius imagines, that *St. Paul* calls *Nero* by that name on account of his cruelty: perhaps

long labours in the ministry of the Gospel, in which I believe he persevered during thirty years, travelling through many different and remote parts of the *roman* empire, *Here*, at last, *he finished his course*; and accomplished, far more nobly than any of the heathen heroes of this city, his *holy warfare*.

ON this account I would humbly submit it to the opinion of proper judges, whether or no those writings of *St. Paul*, which have a relation to this city or country, or at least an extract of the moral parts of them, might not be proposed to travellers, during their residence at *Rome*, as a very useful kind of private *sunday* studies.

ALL travellers to *Athens*, on viewing the remains of the *Areopagus*, ought certainly to recollect *St. Paul's* oration there. If we live to make

perhaps also, it might be said, on account of that fierce animal's being imagined to be the sovereign of the beasts. It is remarkable, that the person, who brought to king *Agrippa* the news of *Tiberius's* death, made use also of the same expression: Γλωσση τη εβραιων, τεθυνηκεν ο λεων, φησιν.

See *Joseph's* Antiq. Jud. lib. 18.

With respect to the two trials of *St. Paul*, in the first of which he was acquitted by *Nero*, *Eusebius* makes the following observation.

Ειχε γε τω κατα μεν αρχας ηπιωτερον τη Νερων διακειμενη, εχον την υπερ δογματ^{ος} τη Παυλη δεχεσθαι απολογιαν. Προελθοντ^{ος} δε εις αδεμιτ^{ους} τολμας, μετα των αλλων κ^{αι} τα κατα των αποστολων εγχειρισθηναι.

Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. Κβ—χι.

the

the tour of *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*, we shall doubtless, at *Athens*, and in many other places, have just occasion to think on the apostle's evangelical labours, sufferings, and imprisonments; as well as on the epistles, which he wrote to or from several of the cities in those eastern regions. During our residence at *Rome*, therefore, why should we not, in *like manner*, frequently meditate on those particular parts of *St. Paul's* history, which peculiarly relate to this place?

WE have now, for a considerable space of time, been daily studying the imperfect characters of the heathen worthies of this city. Yesterday we were busied in admiring the deaths of *Seneca* and *Thraseas*. But let us recollect, that the holy apostle and converter of the heathen world laid down his venerable head on the bloody block, *under the tyranny of the same Nero*, and in the suburbs of this same city.

SHALL we be inattentive to *his chains and martyrdom*? Shall we shut our eyes to *his instructions and example*? He, in a very high degree, after his Divine Master, was a light to lighten even the most learned part of the gentiles, particularly by his being so ready to preach the Gospel, not only at *Athens*, but at *Rome also*; and
likewise

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likewise to be the glory of his own people, whether we consider him as an *israelite*, or as a *roman* citizen.

FROM a principle then, both of justice, and of gratitude, let us endeavour to express, here, some due respect to his sacred memory. It was for *us*, *gentiles*, that he often bent his knees in prayer; it was for *us*, that he laboured most incessantly, and passed through innumerable perils and pains.

WITH these thoughts I waked, and left my bed by sun-rise, last *sunday* morning. I then immediately withdrew to my closet: and there, after some short, but I hope not ill addressed devotion, had the great happiness to pass several of the calm, serene, and fresh hours of the day, in reading, *alone*, and to my heart, that divine epistle, which *St. Paul* wrote from this city to his beloved adopted children at *Philippi*.

WHILE I was reading that epistle, my mind often returned to you, my dear associates. Nor can I be sorry for that wandering of my thoughts; For I am sure, that *I ought always, upon every remembrance of you, to pray, that your faith and love may abound yet more and more: that ye may be filled with all the fruits of righteousness: that ye may become the children of God. Thus, even thus,*

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thus, may the God of peace, that peace which passeth all understanding, be for ever with you!

O MY valued friends! may that heavenly resignation, which breathes in this apostle's writings; may that fervent piety, which was in him, from his youth up, constantly accompanied with much learning, and with a conscience void of offence toward God and man; may his great benevolence to all the nations, through whose countries he ever travelled; may his abundant love, even to his enemies, and his unlimited charity to all men, whether *greeks* or *barbarians*, *jews* or *heathens*; although he was persecuted by them all: may the memory of these, his *virtues*, have their due effect; a deep and an indelible impression on your minds!

MAY the influence of his *writings*, and the excellency of his *example*, in all it's fulness, descend and rest upon you!

FROM my heart I wish you to be happier, than what I dare hope for myself: happier, & *in parvo*, & *in magno*; & *in tempore*, & *in æternitate*!

MAY you be eternally happy; happy, as long as God himself will be happy!

MAY

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MAY your innocent avocations *here* be, by God's mercy, of such a kind, as to conduct you to that happiness! Many centuries, many thousands of years hence, even from the immense depth of a blessed eternity, may your souls look back with pleasure, to the recollection of your employments at *Rome*! May that retrospect be one part of your felicity, even while your faculties shall be otherwise enraptured with the ecstatic vision of everlasting glory, amidst those *apostles*, *primitive saints*, and *martyrs*, in some of whose footsteps you are perhaps, *in this place*, now standing!

O MY dear friends, you cannot, on this verdant grass-plot, stir one step, where *St. Paul* has not trodden before you. In this place, according to the united testimony, I believe, of all historians, that blessed apostle, saint, and martyr, was called to seal the Gospel with his blood.

PERHAPS it was *on this bank*, that *Timotheus* kneeled in prayer, while his master was led up to the block. *There, perhaps*, *St. Paul* stood, in his last moments; meditating on that heavenly kingdom to which he was then approaching; that third heaven, the glories of which he had already seen.

BUT why, my dear firs, do you look thus earnestly on me? Indeed I am *deeply*, though not *sufficiently*, sensible, of my infinite unworthiness *even to pronounce* any of these sacred names. Every time I make mention of them, my conscience cries out aloud to me, how undeserving I am, even of the ground on which I *ever* tread; or of that air, which *ever* breathes on my face. Yet, let not my utter unfitness; to preach on these or similar subjects abate in the least your reverence for them.

* * *

It is perhaps unnecessary, continued *Crito*, after some pause, that I should thus persuade you to the study of the works of *St. Paul*: I have great reason to believe, that the goodness of your own hearts hath long ago suggested to you, in some degree, the *propriety* of such a study, while at *Rome*.

Soon after our first arrival here, I remember with great pleasure, that I came by chance into my pupil's apartment one *sunday* evening; it was on the 25th of *january*, the conversion of *St. Paul*, when I found him reading the epistle to *Timotheus*, just mentioned; that epistle, in which
the

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the heart of a *Paul* pours forth the fulness of its tenderness, towards this, his darling son.

My pupil read to me the five or six concluding verses of the last chapter; and upon one of those verses he observed, that nothing more strongly demonstrates the fallacy of the outward appearance of things in this life, than the fact, of such a wretch as *Nero*, having sitten in judgment, on such a saint as *Paul*. How did they then appear! *St. Paul*, in irons, deserted by his friends*; loaded with contempt and insults by his enemies; *Nero*, seated on the *roman* tribunal, in all the pomp and glitter of imperial splendour; and surrounded, doubtless, with crouds of flattering courtiers.

* Εν τη πρώτῃ μὲν ἀπολογία ἤδεις μοι Συμπαρεγενετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατελίπον· (μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθεῖν.)

Ο δὲ Κυρίῳ μοι παρέστη, καὶ ἐνεδυναμώσεν με, ἵνα δι' ἐμὴ το κήρυγμα πληροφωρηθῇ, καὶ ἀκησῇ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ ἐρυσθῇ ἐκ στόματός· λεοντός·.

Καὶ ρυσιέται με ὁ Κυρίῳ ἀπο πάντων ἐργῶν ποτηρῆ, καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπεράνω. Ὡς δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ἀσπασαί Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν, καὶ τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον οἶκον. Ἐραστός· ἐμείνεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Τροφιμόν δὲ ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενήντα.

Σπεύδασον πρὸς χειμῶνός· εἰλθεῖν. Ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐβελός, καὶ Πέδης, καὶ Λίνός, καὶ Κλαυδία, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες.

Ὁ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστός· μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου. Ἡ χάρις μετὰ ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν.

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρᾳ, τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπισκοπὸν χειροτονηθέντα, ἐγγραφῇ ἀπὸ Ρώμης, ὅτε ἐκ δευτέρᾳ παρέστη Παύλῳ τῷ Καίσαρι Νερῶνι.

2 Ep. ad TIM. C. iv. 16. &c.

N n 2

BUT

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BUT how contrary has been the condition of their souls ever since! How different will be their meeting at the Last Day! Let me refer you to what I find noted on this occasion, in my memorandum papers: my pupil gave me the hint of it: it consists of the first sixteen verses in the fifth chapter of the book of *Wisdom* *.

WHILE

- * 1. Τότε γησεται εν παρησια πολλη ὁ δικαιο-
Κατα προσωπον των θλιφάντων αὐτοῦ,
Και των ἀδεύοντων τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς.
2. Ἰδόντες, ταραχθήσονται φόβῳ δεινῷ,
Και ἐκστήσονται ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας.
3. Ἐρᾶσιν ἑαυτοῖς μετανοήσαντες,
Και διὰ ξενωχωρίαν πνεύματ' ἑναζόντες,
Οὐτ' ἢ ἦν οὐν ἐσχομένη ποτὲ, εἰς ἡγέλωτα·
Και εἰς παραβολὴν ονειδισμῶν.
4. Οἱ ἀφροεῖς τὸν βίον αὐτῆς ἐλογισάμεθα μανίαν,
Και τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἀτίμον.
5. Πῶς κατελογισθῇ ἐν νῆδ' ὁ Θεοῦ,
Καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις ὁ κληρὸς αὐτῆς ἔστιν;
6. Ἀρὰ ἐπληρώσαμεν ἀπὸ οὐδ' ἀληθείας,
Και τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης φῶς ἡμεῖς ἐλαμψεν ἡμῖν,
Και ὁ ἡλίου ἡμεῖς ἀνέτειλεν ἡμῖν.
7. Ἀνομίας ἐνεπληρώσαμεν τριβοῖς, καὶ ἀπωλείας,
Και διώδυσσαμεν ἐρημὸς ἀβύσσους,
Τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν Κυρίου ἡμεῖς ἐγνώμεν.
8. Τὶ ὠφελήσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ υπερηφάνεια;
Και τὶ πλεῖον μετὰ ἀλαζονείας συμβεβλήται ἡμῖν;
9. Παρηλθεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὡς σκία,
Καὶ ὡς ἀγγελία παρατρέχουσα·
10. Ὡς ναὺς διερχομένη κυμαίνοντο ὕδατος,
Ἡς διαβάσης ἡμεῖς ἐσιν ἰχθυῶν ευρεῖν,
Οὐδὲ ἀτράκτον τροπὴν αὐτῆς ἐν κυμασίν·
11. Ἡ ὡς ὄρνις διπλῶντ' ἀερά,
Οὐδὲν εὕρισκεται τεκμήριον πορείας,
Πλήρη δὲ τάρσων μαζιζόμενον πνεῦμα κερφῶν
Και σχιζόμενον βία ῥοίης,

Κινούμενῳ,

WHILE *Crito* was thus speaking, his pious pupil held down his blushing countenance. I am sure, said he, that both on account of my youth, and of many other more important considerations, I am really very unworthy of pretending to speak on such subjects. Yet, in justice to my two good young friends here, let me have the pleasure of assuring you, that *their* hearts overflowed with the highest happiness this morning, while they were listening to your instructions in the basilica of *St. Paul*. They acknowledged these sentiments to me afterwards, though they were silent when on the spot. Even at present *their hearts burn within them*.

LET me add, that a similar ardour and pleasure filled their minds, some few days past ; while

- Κινημένων πτερύγων διωδεδῆ,
Και μετὰ τῆτο ἤκ' εὐρεδῆ σημεῖον ἐπιβασεὺς ἐν αὐτῷ*
12. Ἡ ὡς ἐλθὼς ἐλθεντῶ ἐπὶ σκοπόν,
Τμηθεὶς ὁ αἵρ' εὐδὼς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνελυδῆ,
Ὡς ἀγνοῖσθαι τὴν διόδον αὐτῆ.
13. Οὕτως κ' ἡμεῖς γεννηθέντες ἐξελιπομεν*
Και ἀρετῆς μὲν σημεῖον ἦδεν ἐχομεν δεξιῇ,
Ἐν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ ἡμῶν κατεδαπανηδῆμεν.
14. Ὅτι ἐλπίς ἀσεβὲς ὡς φερομεντῶ χῆς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου,
Και ὡς παχὺν ὑπὸ λαίλαπτῶ διωχθεῖσα λεπτή,
Και ὡς καπνῶ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου διηχυδῆ,
Και ὡς μνεῖα καταλυτῆ μονοήμερῃ παρωδενσε.
15. Δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσι,
Και ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ μισθῶ αὐτῶν,
Και ἡ φροντίς αὐτῶν παρὰ Ὑψίστῳ.
16. Διὰ τῆτο ληφόνται τὸ βασίλειον τῆς εὐπρεπειᾶς,
Και τὸ διαδῆμα τῆ καλλῆς ἐκ χειρῶ Κυρίου,
Ὅτι τῇ δεξιᾷ σκεπάσει αὐτῆς,
Και τῷ βραχίονι ἱπερασπίσει αὐτῶν.

we were viewing the beautiful round chapel, built by *Bramante*, on the *Janiculan* hill; on the very spot where, *it is said*, *St. Peter* was crucified. But pray, dear sir, what may be your opinion, as to the truth of that history? If we mistake not, it has been controverted.

WE will talk on that subject, replied *Crito*, if you please, in the afternoon. At present let us close our morning-studies here; for the *maltese* and *italian* gentlemen, who were with us at *St. Paul's*, are following us hither. Their coach, you see, has just stopped at the gateway leading to these chapels. As devotion seems to be the motive of their coming, it will be proper for us to retire.

* * *

THE *english* gentlemen now returned to *Rome*. In the way to their lodgings, they visited the church, and rich chapels, of *S. S. Pudens*, and *Pudentiana*.

THE company dined to-day at the young nobleman's apartments. But they were all remarkably abstemious. After coffee they withdrew, as usual, to sleep; but not one of them closed his eyes.

THEY

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THEY met again at tea. While they were taking it, the young nobleman desired to look again on the paper, that *Crito* had showed them this morning.

WITH deep attention the company reconsidered it's contents, particularly it's conclusion.

AFTER perusing the paper, they walked down, in silence, from the *Colle Pinciano*, or *Hortulano**; and, passing by the church of cardinal *Borromeo*, and the lying-in-hospital, at the magnificent *Ripetta*, which is on the banks of the *Tiber*, they took boat there, and crossed that narrow, but rapid stream.

THEY soon landed on the opposite bank among some gardens. The whole large space indeed, between this part of the *Tiber* and the *Vatican* hill, is at present nothing but gardens, fields, and meadows.

IT was then just that time of the evening, when a rural walk, attended by divine meditations, is most pleasant.

CRITO, at length, began the conversation; following the train of thought, in which he had

* It's modern name is *Monte di Trinità*.

been engaged at the conclusion of his paper on the subject of *Suffering Virtue*.

THOUGH we are neither able, said he, nor worthy, to meditate on the high and holy subject of our Saviour's passion; yet, let us endeavour to consider and fully contemplate the patience and fortitude of His first followers and disciples: in the same manner, as, though we cannot fix our eyes on the sun, even while setting; yet we may view with pleasure the reflection of his light, on the face of the moon, and of *that* evening star.

LET us not imagine, that the deaths of those holy martyrs and saints are less instructive lessons to us, than their lives. By their deaths Providence, as it were, demonstrates to us, that there must be another life. *When we see wicked men prosper, and saints die in dungeons, we are far from doubting of Providence; we are strengthened in the assured belief, that God, who has stamped the marks of infinite wisdom and goodness on all his works, has appointed a just retribution in the world to come. And faith reveals to us, clearly, this important secret. We at present see only one end of the chain, in the conduct of Providence towards men: many links of it are now concealed from our eyes. Let us wait a little, and we shall see, in eternity, God's goodness abundantly justified.*

IN

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IN the mean time, let us follow the examples of those blessed saints; their examples of piety to heaven, and charity to man: let us thankfully accept every good gift of Providence; and patiently endure every *seeming* evil, which may be appointed for us, during this short and transitory state.

CRITO now pausing, Permit me, dear sir, said his pupil, to indulge myself in the recollection of some happy hours, which I enjoyed about two months ago. Happy I call them, because, during their continuance, my mind was fully engaged in thoughts congenial with yours.

THE day before you began this course of *roman* lectures, the last day in *april*, was the festival of the Ascension*. In the afternoon of that day, I attended this our noble young friend, to see the large picture, which Mr. *Mengs* has designed and executed, on that glorious subject†.

To one representation in that painting, we shut our eyes. But in relation to the other figures, of the blessed Virgin, and of the apostles, who are

* See pages xvi, and xxxiv. of the Introduction to the first book.

† This picture was at *Rome* in the year 1761; but was intended to be removed to *Dresden*, as soon as the war should be ended.

there

there described, kneeling and *adoring* our Saviour during his ascent to heaven; on *these* our eyes were a long time rivetted.

OUR thoughts entered into the subject: we dwelt upon it, and were absorpt in it.

AT the instant of the ascension, said we to each other, how totally must *these* holy persons have disregarded all the labours, pains, and dangers, with which, during the shortness of human life, innocence and sanctity are sometimes tried! Such also were *our* sensations, while viewing that *picture* only of the Ascension.

WE afterwards walked, along this very path, to *St. Peter's*. We found the church full of processions, and resounding with sacred music.

MAY my dear friends in *England*, may my dear friends here pardon me:—I then could not forbear wishing myself in heaven.

SCARCE had *Crito's* pupil uttered these last words, when, recollecting himself, and blushing at the sentiments which suddenly rising from the heart, had been unawares expressed by the lips; he hastened to divert the discourse to it's former topic; the picture of the Ascension by Mr. *Mengs*.

CRITO

CRITTO joined with him in admiration of most parts of that picture. He at the same time spoke, with some restriction, in favour of church-paintings in general. Provided, said he, those paintings are confined to scriptural subjects, or to authentic and edifying parts of church history, I cannot but be of opinion, that they may frequently serve to awaken some good emotions in the breast of the spectator.

I HAVE, indeed, of late thought, said the young nobleman, that to consider those kinds of painting, merely with an *artist's* eye, is too cold a method of studying them.

SOME few weeks ago, I took a solitary walk to that chapel on *Monte Cælio*, which is enriched with the two famous pictures of *Dominichini* and *Guido*, on the subject of *St. Andrew's* martyrdom. I sat there alone near half an hour; remarking, as well as I was able, the *different* excellencies of each of those masters. *Dominichini's* picture, though not perhaps so faultless as that of *Guido*, yet has been said, and I think justly, to contain equal, if not superiour beauties.

WHILE I was thus amusing myself, an accident happened, which fully instructed me, that I might have

have been employing my thoughts there in *a much better manner.*

AN elderly woman, a native of *France*, and of a good family there, entered the chapel. Her dress was plain, but clean and neat: it seemed to be the proper garb of charity: her looks were remarkably full of benevolence, humility, and devotion. She knelt down immediately before the communion table, and kissed the pavement. After some few moments she rose, and walked back to that part of the chapel, where, you know, *Dominichini* has represented, on the wall, *St. Andrew*, patiently enduring those torments, which usually preceded crucifixion: *flagellis cæsum*. At the sight she burst into tears. Soon, however, recovering herself, she turned round to the opposite painting of *Guido*. She fixed her eyes on the apostle there, joyfully saluting and welcoming his cross. Her countenance was in that instant covered with a smiling calmness; and with all the tokens of a meek, resigned, and peaceful mind. She drew a chair, and sat down by *Guido's* picture: She took a book of devotion in her hands, and began to peruse it. I was impertinent enough to look over her shoulder: it was a translation of the treatise *de Imitatione*; and was opened at the 12th chapter of the second book.

The

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The words, which met my eye, were the following: *Il faut pratiquer la patience, si vous voulez jouir de la paix du cœur, & mériter une couronne éternelle.*

I REMEMBER that chapter, replied *Crito*; it is a very fine one. I am obliged to you for reminding me of it afresh. I will read it over again this evening. I have the book in the original; and, indeed, quoted some lines from it, in the paper which I laid on your table this morning.

IN the mean time, as you have accidentally mentioned the martyrdom of *St. Andrew*, permit me to observe, that this saint is described in holy writ, as one of the *first* disciples of the LAMB of GOD.

CRITO now stopped in his walk, and stood still for some moments. He took from his pocket the first volume of the New Testament; being a small edition of the Gospels and Acts in *greek*, with a *latin* translation. He read from it the following lines.

Alterâ die, iterum stabat Ioannes, & ex discipulis ejus duo. Et respiciens Jesum ambulantiem, dixit, Ecce AGNUS DEI!

Et

Et audierunt eum duo discipuli loquentem, & secuti sunt Jesum—Erat autem Andreas, frater Simonis Petri, unus ex duobus, qui audierant à Ioanne, & secuti fuerant eum. Invenit hic primum fratrem suum Simonem, & dixit ei, Invenimus MESSIAM.*

ST. ANDREW, my dear friends, at our Saviour's call, *readily* left all things to follow him. Both in life, and in death, he proved himself a worthy teacher of the doctrine of the Cross.

THE death of the cross was appointed for *St. Andrew*: and, indeed, it is highly suitable to his character to think, that he received his crown with ardent joy.

HE preached the Gospel in *Greece*, and *there* laid down his life for it: he confirmed the faith by his blood shed on the cross, at *Patræ*, in *Achaia*.

LET us here pause a little, and reflect on *that* circumstance.—Is it not probable that *St. Andrew*, in the hour of his martyrdom, devoutly recollected those words, which our Saviour had spoken to him, and to *St. Philip*, on a subject very similar?

* *Evang. Sti Johannis*, chap. i. v. 35, &c.

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It was at that *remarkable* time, when some *gre-cians* expressed their desire of seeing *JESUS*.

CRITO now turned to the 12th chapter of *St. John*; and desired leave to read the following passage.

Erant autem quidam gentiles (ελληνες), ex his, qui ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo. Hi ergo accesserunt ad Philippum, qui erat a Bethsaidâ Galilææ, & rogabant eum, dicentes; Domine, volumus IESUM videre. Venit Philippus & dicit Andreæ; Andreas, rursus, & Philippus dixerunt Iesu.

Iesus autem respondit eis, dicens: Venit hora, ut clarificetur Filius Hominis. Amen, amen dico vobis, nisi granum frumenti, cadens in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet: si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert. Qui amat animam suam, perdet eam; & qui odit animam suam, in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam custodit eam. Si quis mihi ministrat, me sequatur; & ubi sum ego, illic & minister meus erit. Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus. Nunc anima mea turbata est; & quid dicam? Pater, salvifica me ex hac horâ? Sed propterea veni in horam hanc. Pater, clarifica nomen tuum.

Venit

Venit ergo vox de cælo: Et clarificavi, & iterum clarificabo. Turba ergo, quæ stabat, & audierat, dicebat tonitruum esse factum. Alii dicebant, angelus ei locutus est.

Respondit Iesus, & dixit: Non propter me hæc vox venit, sed propter vos. Nunc iudicium est mundi; nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras. Et ego, si exaltatus fuero à terrâ, omnia traham ad me ipsum. Hoc autem dicebat, significans quâ morte esset moriturus.*

* * *

IT seems, continued *Crito*, closing the book, to be very observable, that as our Saviour himself, to the utter confusion of human pride, patiently submitted to the most ignominious kind of death; so, likewise, did all his holy apostles.

THE apostles and friends of CHRIST were treated, during their lives, as malefactors. They were imprisoned: they were banished: they wandered about, being destitute; afflicted; tormented; hated; despised: *they*, of whom the world was not worthy. After several years thus passed,

* *Evang. Johan. ch. xii. ver. 20, &c.*

they

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they, like the prophets and martyrs of the Old Testament, were tortured, not accepting deliverance: they were slain with the sword.

OF what then, ought a common christian to complain?

I MADE, yesterday, some extracts from the Imitation, blending them with some words of my own; which, if you will give me leave, I will now read to you. They are on this slip of paper.

O ingrata anima mea, cessa tandem conqueri; considerata CHRISTI, & sanctorum ejus amicorum, passione.

CHRISTUS pati voluit, & crucifigi: christiani autem hodierni, otium sibi quærunt, & requiem, & divitias, & longæ vitæ commoda. Such were not the thoughts of the glorious company of the apostles; such were not *their* expectations. *Quid hinc circumspicis, anima, mea? Non est hinc locus requietionis tuæ. In cælestibus debet esse tua habitatio in æternum.*

O Deus meus! verte mihi in amaritudinem omnem consolationem carnalem, ab æternorum amore me abstrahentem. Non me decipiat mundus, & brevis gloria ejus: da mihi fortitudinem resistendi,

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patientiam tolerandi, constantiam perseverandi: da, pro omnibus mundi consolationibus, suavissimam SPIRITÛS TUI unctionem.

MUCH instruction might be reaped, from a recollection of a catalogue of the apostles, joined to a serious consideration of what was *their* lot in this world.

ACCORDING to the accounts, which are most generally received,

1. *St. Peter* was crucified.
2. *St. Andrew* was crucified.
3. *St. Bartholomew* was flayed alive.
4. *St. John* was banished, after having been cast into a cauldron of boiling oil.
- 5, 6. *Two St. James*. One was beheaded: of the other the brains were dashed out.
7. *St. Philip* was stoned.
8. *St. Thomas*, stabbed.
9. *St. Matthew*, beheaded.
10. *St. Simon*, crucified.
11. *St. Jude*, shot with arrows.
12. *St. Matthias*, stabbed.
13. *St. Paul*, beheaded.

Παγετε. 188, ΕΓΩ αποσπελλω υμας ως αρνας εν
μεσω λυκων*.

* *Sti Luc. c. x. 3.*

I WISH,

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I WISH, said the young nobleman, that you had favoured us with some of these sentiments this morning; while we were admiring the figures of the apostles, painted by the school of *Raphael*. But, I interrupt you.

OF this holy groupe, replied *Crito*, the first who gained the crown of martyrdom was *St. James*, the brother of *St. John*. In the beginning of our Saviour's ministry *St. James* had readily left every thing, to obey the divine call. After our Saviour's ascension, he followed his master's path to heaven, doubtless with equal readiness. Enabled, not by the strength of his own resolutions, but by the strength of grace, *St. James* joyfully accepted his Lord's cup of suffering; and was the earliest of all the apostles, who drank of it.

I REMEMBER, said the young nobleman, that in the picture of the ascension, of which your pupil was just now speaking, there was something very peculiarly striking, in the figure and countenance of *St. James*. Pray inform me, where it was that *St. James* suffered, and at what time.

HE suffered at *Jerusalem*, replied *Crito*, a little before *Easter*; in the eleventh or twelfth year after he had attended his Saviour's agony there in the garden of *Gethsemane*.

CLAUDIUS was then emperor of *Rome*, and *Herod Agrippa* was king of *Judæa*. It was that *Herod*, who slew *St. James* with the sword; and, seeing that it pleased the *jews*, he next proceeded to seize *Peter* also; intending, doubtless, the same cruelty to him.

YOUR mentioning the name of *St. Peter*, reminds me, said *Crito's* pupil, that, while we were this morning in the valley of *Aquæ Salvæ*, you were asked a question relative to *his* history; which you gave us reason to hope you would consider this afternoon. May I beg of you now, to resolve our doubts on that subject?

PERMIT me, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, to second that motion. We are walking at present, in direct and full view of his magnificent basilica; and, consequently, our thoughts in this conversation very naturally point to him.

WITH regard to *St. Peter*, replied *Crito*, there are two particular difficulties, which somewhat discourage me from attempting to speak on the subject of his life and character.

FIRST, my own great demerits. I am not worthy, indeed, to talk on the virtues of any one of the most imperfect among good men: much
less

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less should I presume to attempt the description of that eminent sanctity, that strong faith, that ardent love of God, and zeal for the salvation of human souls, which inspired the holy person, who is always named as *first*, in the catalogue of the apostles.

THE other difficulty arises from this circumstance; that *St. Peter's* residence in this city has been much controverted in modern ages.

I MUST acknowledge, indeed, to my shame, that I have not yet sufficiently applied myself to that important branch of the science of divinity, ecclesiastical history; so as to be able to give you any full information on this point, and at the same time to do, what is, perhaps, proper justice, to the arguments of the writers on both sides of the question.

I MIGHT add, that controversy, however highly useful and necessary upon some occasions, is, in general, not an agreeable employment. It's discussions are difficult; and the temper which it sometimes produces, is not that of a christian heart. Happy is the ecclesiastic, who is engaged in the other occupations of a religious life; in the smoother path of other studies; in the serene felicities of devotion; and in the celestial employ-

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ments of that universal charity, with which all the true servants of GOD are unextinguishably inflamed: *loving one another, with a pure heart, fervently; and laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings.*

YET, on the other hand, surely, the exalted subjects of this day's conversation ought to impart a generous warmth to our hearts. We ought neither to be ashamed, nor afraid, to confess our opinion, as to the controverted point in question.

MOST probably *it is very true*, that *St. Peter* passed a considerable part of his life in *Rome*: and, on this account, we ought, during our happy residence here, frequently to meditate on his virtues, and endeavour to pay due honour and veneration to his blessed memory.

WE justly reverence *St. Paul*, as the apostle of the *gentile* world: but let us not forget, that *St. Peter* also highly merits the same title*.

Is it your opinion, said *Crito's* pupil, that *St. Peter* was really crucified at *Rome*?

* See the tenth and eleventh chapters of the *Acts*, and the 7th verse of the fifteenth chapter.

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As to the *manner*, replied *Crito*, and the *place* of *St. Peter's* death, my opinion is this:

THAT *St. Peter* was crucified, may be implied from the gospel of *St. John*. He glorified God; following his holy Lord even in the manner of his death*.

THAT he suffered at *Rome*, all the ancient writers are said to be unanimous; and as to the moderns, many learned protestants agree with the roman catholics in this point†.

BOTH these points seem indeed sufficiently clear: but as to the exact *time* of his sufferings, and the identical spot in *Rome*, where he breathed out his pious soul, I believe there may be some real reason to doubt.

WITH respect to his interment, it was probably *here*, where his splendid church now appears. The palaces of the *Cæsars* are in ruins; but the tomb of the *fisherman* is in the highest glory.

THE tradition, that *St. Peter* was really buried *here*, is greatly corroborated by the testimony of

* See chap. xxi. 15.

† See Dr. *Pearson's* posthumous works; Dr. *Cave's* Life of *St. Peter*, and Literary History, Sac. Apost. p. 5 and 7. See also *Pool's* Synopsis, on the 18th verse of the 21st chapter of *St. John's* Gospel.

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Caius, who lived about fifteen hundred and fifty years ago*; and by the indubitable fact, of the emperor *Constantine's* having built *here*, in honour of *St. Peter*, a basilica; which was very stately, though I suppose not comparable to the present most magnificent structure.

THE basilica of *St. Peter*, said the young nobleman, which was erected by *Constantine*, seems, from the plans of it published by *Bonanni*, to have been very similar to the basilica of *St. Paul*, which we visited this morning.

THIS observation of the young nobleman recalled several pious ideas to *Crito's* mind. He recollected some of those awful sentiments, which had filled his heart in the morning, while standing near the stairs, that lead down to *St. Paul's* grave.

How striking, said he, is that passage in *St. Chrysostom's* description of the Last Day! ΕΚΕΙΔΕΝ αρπαγησεται Παυλ^{ος}, ΕΚΕΙΔΕΝ Πετρ^{ος}. ΕΝΝΟΗΣΑΤΕ, κ^{αι} ΦΡΙΞΑΤΕ, ΟΙΟΝ ΟΨΕΤΑΙ ΘΕΑΜΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΝ ΕΞΑΙΦΝΗΣ

* ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ ΕΝΘΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΤΙΘΕΤΑΙ, ΦΗΣΙΝ, ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΕΧΩ ΔΕΙΞΑΙ. ΞΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΛΗΣΗΣ ΑΠΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΤΙΚΑΝΟΝ, Η ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΩΣΙΑΝ ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΙΔΡΥΣΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. β. κε.

See also *Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 67.* and *Cave's Appendix to St. Peter's Life, p. 47.*

ΑΝΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΝ

ανισταμενον απο της θηκης εκεινης μετα Πητρον, & αιρου-
μενον εις την απαντησιν τῶ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ*.

THE idea of the glorious resurrection of *St. Peter*, and of *St. Paul*, seems to have been strongly impressed on *St. Chrysostom's* mind. For, in another part of his works†, “What, says he, was more glorious, than *Paul*? what more illustrious than *Peter*? who travelled over the earth, sowing every where the seeds of religion?”—But if, in this world, they were endued with such power, think, what they will be, on that day, when they shall have received bodies incorruptible, immortal, and far exceeding all earthly glory; fashioned like the glorious body of Christ, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself‡.

* * *

You favoured us this morning, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, with a catalogue of the sacred writings, which were composed by *St. Paul* while at *Rome*. Give me leave to ask you, whether *St. Peter* wrote any thing during his residence here. Did he sow the seeds of religion

* See the conclusion of the last homily on the epistle to the *romans*.

† Expositio in Psalmum cix.

‡ See *St. Paul's* epistle to the *philippians*, chap. iii. 21.
here

here with his words and example only; or was his pen also employed in those glorious labours?

It is said, replied *Crito*, and I believe truly, that as *St. Paul* assisted *St. Luke* in writing the history of the acts of the apostles, so likewise *St. Peter*, while at *Rome*, assisted *St. Mark*, in the composition and revival of his Gospel*. Whence it might be, that some ancients have attributed that Gospel to *St. Peter* himself. He certainly had a very considerable share in the work. It has been observed, as an instance of *St. Peter's* great humility, that in this Gospel no mention is made of the high commendations, which our Saviour gave to that apostle, on his confessing him to be the Son of God: but the history of his shameful lapse, and denial of his master, is related at full length; with some particular aggra-

* *St. Mark* accompanied *St. Peter* in his apostolical progress, and preached the Gospel in *Italy* and at *Rome*; where, at the request of the christians of those parts, he composed his Gospel.—The converts at *Rome*, not content to have heard *St. Peter* preach, pressed *St. Mark*, his disciple, that he would commit to writing an historical account of what he delivered to them. This he performed, with no less faithfulness than brevity; all which *St. Peter* perused, ratified with his authority, and commanded to be publicly read in their religious assemblies.

See *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Mark*, folio edition, p. 174, and p. 176, and also his *Literary History*, v. i. p. 24. *St. Mark* was martyred at *Alexandria*, in the 14th year of *Nero*. But it is related by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, as quoted in *Calmet's dictionary of the Bible*, that *St. Mark* was present in *Rome*, at the death of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.

ventions,

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vations, of which the other Evangelists take no notice*.

BUT the only writings, to which *St. Peter's* name is affixed, are his epistles.

IN relation to the two epistles of *St. Peter*, I could heartily wish, that you would allot some few hours, next saturday or sunday, for the diligent perusal of them. The first of those epistles, you know, is *generally* understood to have been sent by *St. Peter*, from *this city*†. He is said to have written the second also here, while in prison; *some little time before the putting off his mortal tabernacle*.

How pleasing will it be to you, in comparing that epistle with one of *St. Paul's*, to consider both these great apostles as looking forward with

* See *Euseb. Dem. lib. iii. c. 5. p. 121, 122.*

† See *Grotius's* note on the 13th chapter of this epistle. *De Babylone dissident veteres & novi interpretes. — Veteres Romanam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse, nemo verus christianus dubitabit: novi, Babylonem in Chaldæa. Ego veteribus assentior.*

See also *Dr. Hammond's* note on the same passage, together with his prefaces to both of the epistles of *St. Peter*.

See also *Mill's* Prolegomena to his *Greek Testament*, p. vii.

See also that most primitive testimony of *Papias*, ap. *Euseb. lib. ii. c. 15. p. 53.*

joy to their approaching crowns of everlasting glory *!

IF indeed I might venturously presume to recommend to you any method of preparing your minds for duly meditating on *St. Peter's* martyrdom, it should be this:—

DILIGENTLY study his two epistles; endeavour to enter into their stream of thought, and into the divine spirit itself of the writer.

WHEN you have fully imbibed his sentiments, put your *Greek Testament* into your pocket, and take a walk to this church: let it be about noon, when it is least frequented. Sit down on one of the benches, which stand usually behind *St. Peter's* grave. Meditate then on what you have been reading; re-peruse the most affecting passages; and pray to GOD, of his infinite mercy to inspire into your breasts thoughts and resolutions, worthy of the occasion and place! Pray earnestly: for it will not be a little blessing.

* * *

* The reader is desired to compare part of the second epistle of *St. Peter*, beginning at the 14th verse of the first chapter, with part of *St. Paul's* second epistle to *Timothy*, beginning at verse 6, of chap. iv.

THE

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THE company were now arrived at the great *Piazza* of the *Vatican*: they advanced towards it's centre; to the basis of the famous *egyptian* obelisk.

AFTER some short conversation here on other subjects, *Crito* resumed his former solemn discourse.

WITHIN some few months of the martyrdom of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, the *first general persecution* broke out. It is one of the honours of the christian church, that it's first persecutor was a *Nero*.

GREAT numbers of the friends and disciples of the apostles were then cruelly tormented, and murdered; as is described in the 15th book of the *Annals* of *Tacitus*.

Pereuntibus christianis, addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi; aut flammandi; atque ubi dese-*

* *Stantibus ad palum destinatis, unco (ne motatione capitis pice ardentem declinarent) gutturi suffixo, e laminâ ardente pix aut unguen in caput liquebat; ita ut rivi pinguedinis humanæ per arenam amphitheatrici sulcum facerent. Ad hoc tormentum alludit Juvenalis, sat. i. ver. 155.*

*Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam.*

Vid. *Hauffii* Annotat, in *Tacitum*.
cisset

cisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.
Cap. 44.

AMONG the fragments of *Seneca*, said *Crito's* pupil, there is a passage, which seems applicable to the martyrdom of *St. Peter*, and of these his worthy disciples and friends*. It is not in the least improbable, that *Seneca* might be a spectator of their sufferings. And from his deep silence in relation to their doctrines, it is very much to be suspected, that he was far from condemning them in his heart; though he was not honest enough to declare openly his approbation of them. Pray excuse the interruption.

YOU are now, my dear friends, resumed *Crito*, standing on the very spot, where these apostolic christians were martyred. On that point, I believe, all historians and antiquarians agree.

INDEED, the fact seems to be past dispute: for most part of the southern side of this great church

* See *Lipsius's* Collection of these fragments, numb. 25. *Hic est ille homo honestus, non apice purpurave, non lictorum insignis ministerio, sed null are minor* (query, if this be not a false reading), *qui cum mortem in vicino videt, non sic perturbatur, tanquam rem novam viderit; qui sive toto corpore tormenta patienda sunt, sive flamma ore recipienda est, sive extendæ per patibulum manus, non quærit quid patiatur, sed quàm bene.*

stands on the ruins of the circus of *Caligula* and *Nero**.

IN this part of the *Vatican* valley were the *Domitian* gardens. This obelisk was brought from *Egypt* by *Caligula*, and placed by him, not far distant from the spot on which it now stands, on the *spina* of his circus. In that circus *Nero*, afterwards, *quæsitissimis pænis affecit christianos. Hortos enim suos ei spectaculo obtulerat, & circense ludicrum edebat* †.

IT seems somewhat strange, said the young nobleman, that among all the paintings and sculptures in this most magnificent church, there are none, which refer to the celebrated and certain martyrdom, of so many primitive christians on this very spot. What pity is it, that *Raphael* and

* See *Bonanni's* description of the *Vatican* church, p. 24. and particularly the plan of it, intitled *Tabula 6 Ichnographia Basilicæ antiquæ & novæ, simul cum Circo Neroniano*.

See also abbate *Venuti's* *Roman Antiquities*, part ii. p. 106.

Fu in questa valle il Circo di Nerone. Fu questo fabbricato da Caligola, poi accresciuto o adornato da Nerone. Nel mezzo vi era l'Obelisco, che ora si vede nel centro della gran Piazza Vaticana. Crollò a terra ne i tempi barbari, senza però alcuna lesione del marmo e fino a tempi di Sisto V. giacque prostrato nel suo anticosito vicino alla Sagrestia della Basilica Vaticana, fino che nel 1580 fu trasportato nella Piazza.

See also *Severano's* history of the seven churches, p. 92.

I primi martiri Christiani furono uccisi in questo circo, come pare lo accenni Tacito.—The 24th of june is the day of their memorial.

† TACIT. *Ann.* l. xv. 44.

Michael Angelo were not employed here on that subject!

I HEARTILY wish they *had* been, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Even our good tutor, I believe, will join in that wish. Yesterday, when he was admiring the statue of *Seneca*, he expressed great concern, that *Tacitus* had not preserved the last discourse of that philosopher. If he had, now, before his eyes, some of the labours of *Michael Angelo's* chissel, or *Raphael's* pencil, descriptive of these martyrdoms; would he not much more earnestly have contemplated them; and much more strongly expressed his desire, that some worthy historian had faithfully recorded the dying words of these primitive martyrs, and their behaviour in general at their last hour?

TACITUS, replied *Crito*, prejudiced as he was against them in general, yet strongly asserts their innocence as to the particular crime, for which they most unjustly suffered.

THE spectators also of this infernal barbarity, cruel as they were themselves, and prejudiced in the same manner; yet, before the horrid long execution was over, felt their hatred to these sufferers turned to pity and compassion.

MISERATIO

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MISERATIO oriebatur! says *Tacitus*. This softer sentiment seems to have first flowed from the natural sympathy and irresistible meltings of the human heart, on such dreadful occasions. But it was certainly much augmented, by the opinion generally entertained of the *innocence* of the sufferers. It was increased, probably, still much more, by the *moving behaviour*, the gentle words, and celestial aspirations of these blessed primitive saints, and proto-martyrs of *Rome*; who, around this very obelisk, commended their spirits into the hands of their heavenly Father; in the midst of the heaviest insults, calumnies and torments; full of patience; full of peace; full of the hopes of immortality!

MAY we not, probably, and very justly apply to them, the description of the death of the blessed proto-martyr in *Jerusalem*? And in what better manner can we conclude this day's meditation, than by recollecting the holy behaviour, both in life and death, of him, who had the honour of being the first leader of all the noble army of christian martyrs? *St. Stephen* abounded with all the primitive virtues: he was remarkable for his faith, for his zeal in the cause of religion, and for his care of the poor. *St. Stephen*, in his last hour, being full of the HOLY GHOST, looked up stedfastly unto heaven, and saw the heavens

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opened, and the glory of GOD, and JESUS the Son of Man, standing on the right hand of GOD. On *St. Stephen* the people ran with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and flew him, calling upon GOD, and saying, "LORD JESUS! receive my spirit." And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, "LORD, lay not this sin to their charge." And when he had said this, he fell asleep!

Αμην, αμην, λεγω υμιν, οτι κλαυσετε & θρηνησετε υμεις, ο δε κοσμος χαρησεται. Υμεις δε λυπηθησεσθε, αλλ' η λυπη υμων εις χαραν γενησεται*.

Amen! Lord Jesus! Amen! So be it! Fiat mihi, secundum verbum tuum.

* Div. *JOHAN.* cap. xvi. ver. 20.

THE END.

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W.

E.

THE END

A
TRANSLATION
OF THE
QUOTATIONS
IN THE
ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

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- 2 WE saw, push'd backward to his native source,
The yellow Tiber roll his rapid course,
With impious ruin threat'ning Vesta's fane,
And the great monuments of Numa's reign.

Francis.

- 3 Ye greater guardian Gods of Rome, our prayer,
And Romulus, and thou, chaste Vesta, hear!
Ye, who preserve with your propitious powers,
Etrurian Tiber, and the Roman towers! Warton.

- 4 I had an idea that there were statues in Vesta's temple, but I was perfectly mistaken: its peculiar dis-

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a

inction

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tion is, the flame which is maintained without intermission.

- 5 He approached the Capitol, with an intention to worship the Gods. But when he had entered the temple of Vesta, his whole frame was suddenly convulsed, either in consequence of some impulse from the Deity, or of some stings of conscience, from which he was never wholly free.
- 7 To serve God in holiness and righteousness all the days of his life.
- 8 What so noble, so liberal, so munificent, as to assist the suppliant, to encourage and protect the persecuted, and save them from banishment.
- 9 Every man of opulence and distinction adorned his old age in thus explaining the law. Their house was a kind of Oracle for the city, and their doors were crowded by those who laboured under embarrassments. Them, as Ennius expresses himself, I exert myself to the utmost to relieve, correcting their misapprehensions, and putting them into the true line of proceeding, lest they should miscarry through inadvertence.
- 10 *line 6.* Of all the lawyers the best pleader, of all the pleaders the best lawyer.
line 15. I undertake to pronounce Scævola the high priest, the first man in the State, both in point of ability and integrity.
- 13 In Rome itself he gained the highest applause for the purity and firmness of his provincial administration. The Senate likewise, in a formal decree, made the regulations of Scævola, the system which
succeeding

THE QUOTATIONS.

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succeeding governors should pursue in that province.

15 I think with awe on thy inscrutable proceedings,
who afflictest the righteous with the wicked, doubt-
less in perfect consistency with rectitude and justice.

16 Stretch'd o'er the plain their hapless friends they found,
Some pale in death, some gasping on the ground.
With copious slaughter all the fields was dy'd,
And streams of gore run thick on ev'ry side. *Pitt.*

17 In his endeavours to mediate, he was slain.

Now heaps on heaps fall thick on every side,
And in the cloud of fight, Galesus died :
Good old Galesus ! while with earnest care,
He labour'd to prevent the rising war. *Pitt.*

20 Eight thousand men had surrendered themselves to
Sylla. He ordered them to march into the Villa
Publica, as if he was about to incorporate them with
his own soldiers, and at the same time, ordered the
Senate to assemble in the temple of Bellona. But
death was their instant doom, and in the horrid mas-
sacre fell many who had accidentally come thither
from the country, and even some of his own party.
Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber. During
the slaughter, Sylla was making a speech in the Se-
nate. The Senators hearing the dreadful shrieks of
so many thousands so basely put to death, were
thrown into the utmost alarm; when Sylla, with his
countenance and voice perfectly unruffled, added,
Let us go on with our business, for only a few sedi-
tious men are suffering, by my order. Never were
such murderous words uttered by man !

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- 21 Mistake not, Romans. Let the conquered be admonished not to offend a third time, lest a conflagration be the consequence.
- 22 How irksome now was his usurped power! When the recollection of his enormities harrowed up his guilty soul, what horrors did he endure, finding by experience for what a prize he had been contending! Before he was in possession of power, he had to expect solid satisfaction from it. But on obtaining the supreme authority, through the agonies of his conscience, he loathed and hated what before the civil wars had so inflamed his desires. Such examples should be a lesson to mankind, not to rush on into dangers from which they cannot retreat; to bring their passions into subordination; and to be ardent only in those pursuits, which will not entail shame and remorse.
- 24 For his country he the more felt, on account of his mother, by whom in his orphan state, he had been brought up with such tenderness.
- 26 That firebrand was kindled at Sylla's pile.
Note. Who possessed every requisite for the most accomplished Commander, his mean connexions excepted.
- 29 The ordinary concerns of human life, and standards only of common excellence, could not attract his attention: he was conversant with angels in heaven, or perfect men on earth.

THE QUOTATIONS.

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BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

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- 33 This Tribune elect, then very young, was applied to among the last for his opinion; and with such sagacity and energy did he inveigh against the conspiracy, so well did he paint the impending dangers of the State, so happily expatiate on the virtues of the Consul, that the whole Senate concurred in his measures, and the greater part of his order attended him home.
- 34 Particularly his orations against Catiline, at once so highly finished and so serviceable to the Commonwealth.
- 35 Nature designed him as a model of honour, penetration, temperance, greatness of mind, probity, and in short, of all the virtues.
- 36 He did not emulate the effeminate in luxury, the rich in fortune, the factious in sedition. He emulated the wise in the love of wisdom, and particularly moral philosophy; he emulated the brave in valour, the modest in humility, the abstemious in temperance. Although his conduct was excellent and divine, and his character in the highest degree resplendent, he enjoyed less the reputation, than the reality of virtue: so that in proportion as he was regardless of raising his name, he became the more celebrated.
- 37 After Cato had remonstrated with vehemence against the proceeding as treacherous and disgraceful; Clo-

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dius arrogantly and contemptuously replied, whatever be the consequence, and how great soever thy reluctance, thou shalt fail. And immediately advancing towards to the people, procured a decree that Cato should embark.

- 42 With stainless lustre virtue shines,
A base repulse nor knows, nor fears:
Nor claims her honours, nor declines,
As the light air of crowds uncertain veers. *Francis.*

- 43 Scrutinizing, planning, advising.

- 46 *line 8.* So when an aged ash, whose honours rise
From some steep mountain tow'ring to the skies,
With many an axe by shouting swains is ply'd,
Fierce they repeat the strokes from ev'ry side:
The tall tree trembling, as the blows go round,
Bows the high head, and nods to every wound.

Pitt.

line the last. On one object his mind ever dwelt,
which was reconciliation.

- 55 Let us no longer use the terms, Chance and Fortune: or let us use them only, as terms expressive of our ignorance. It is God, who prepares effects in their most distant causes: and who strikes those grand blows, the very counter-blow of which extends so far.

- 57 Athens! thou dearest city, hail!

- 59 When contemplating his wisdom and his benevolence, I cannot be silent on such a character, nor can I restrain my admiration and praise. If any friend of virtue ever met with a superior character to Socrates, I pronounce him consummately blessed.

61 That

Page

61 That all these things were foreign to Cato's inclinations.

62 In such circumstances was Cato born in this city, that by his property and talents, he was a protector of many, with whom he was wholly unacquainted; scarcely ever did he exert himself for the destruction of an enemy. Whatever he acquired, he converted into the means of more general usefulness.

63 In Marcus Cato, the excellencies with which we are so much struck, were properly his own: and those traits in his conduct, an explanation of which we want, are to be attributed, not to his disposition, but to his education. His astonishing endowments were cultivated, not in a mild and moderate, but in a severe and rigid school. The doctrines of the Stoics he eagerly embraced, having been initiated by their most learned supporters. He was captivated by the instructions of such men, and particularly of his preceptor, Zeno, a man of most profound attainments. How much is it indeed to be wished, Cato, that with thy genius, thou hadst fallen into other hands!

66 *line 8.* Come holy Spirit.

line 18. O heavenly Grace, without which learning, eloquence and genius, are of no avail in the sight of God! Most blessed Grace, that makest the poor in spirit, rich in virtue; and the rich in worldly possessions, humble in heart! Come, descend on us! O Thou, our strength. Thou impartest assistance and counsel. Thou light of the heart. Thou

dispersest

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disperfer of forrow and fear. Thou nurfe of devotion. Mayeft thou always prevent us, and render us continually zealous of good works.

B O O K III.

CHAP. VI.

73 He was a true Patriot.

74 Radiant in open view, Æneas flood,
In form and looks, majestic as a god. *Pitt.*

78 The boldeft of all innovations, he extinguifhed
without confufion or tumult.

79 Hail, Cicero! Thou firft man honoured with this
endearing appellation!

81 *Note.* This propofal received the fanktion of the
Senate.

line 19. He was always watching, and always
providing againft every danger: in fhort, he had
fully made up his mind, that if in the faithful exe-
cution of his office, he fhould lofe his life, he
would view it as a noble facrifice.

83 *Note.* On the temples in general, on that of Con-
cord in particular, the vultures fat in crowds. Their
appearance was fuited to the occafion, for then thofe
maffacres were committed, which filled the whole
city with blood.

line the laft. On the very roftra, where he had fo
refolutely protected the State, that head was placed,
by

Page

by whom the heads of multitudes of citizens were saved.

- 86 *line 9.* He who round Asia sent his high commands,
And stretch'd his empire o'er a hundred lands,
Now lies an headless carcass on the shore,
The man, the monarch, and the name no more.

Pitt.

line 20. He lies under the clods of Libya, if indeed he has any grave.

- 87 Whose wide spreading branches shaded this spot.
90 Some years ago, on that side of *Frescati* which faces *Monte Porzio*, was found a very ancient monument of the family *Porzia*, mentioned by Bellori and Volpi.

- 91 Celebrated for eloquence and zeal for his country.
93 There I found Cato sitting, almost lost among the books, for he possessed an eagerness for knowledge, which could never be satisfied: and we had rather, said he to me, that this son of Lucullus should be pleased with these books, than shew his taste in admiring all the other beauties of this villa.

- 94 *Note.* What you write to me concerning *Hermathena*, is very flattering, and is the highest ornament of my academy; though *Hermes* is common to all, and *Minerva* is the peculiar device in his school. Wherefore, I beg, that when you write, you would enrich this place with as many ornaments as possible. All these pieces, I shall carry to *Tusculum*.

line 8. When at Apollo's hallow'd shrine

The poet hails the power divine,
And here his first libations pours,
What is the blessing he implores?

Francis.

97 He

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- 97 He judged that it would serve the Republic to unfold this Philosophy to the Romans ; and that the honour of the city required some Latin productions, on subjects so sublime and interesting.
- 98 At Rome he devoted himself entirely to Philo, feeling an irresistible impulse to the study of Philosophy. *Note.* On my arrival at Athens, I spent six months with Antiochus, the most illustrious and the best informed Philosopher of the old academy : and under this able instructor renewed my application to Philosophy, to which from my earliest years I have been attached, and in which I have been constantly labouring to make advances.
- 99 Here we find a retreat from all anxiety and toil. Tusculum affords such pleasures, that we never fail to be happy, whenever we repair hither.
- 101 It is scarcely to be believed, how much I write, not only by day, but also by night.
- 102 Which pursued its studies in this place.
- 103 Ye dear, dear ruins! and thou Troy ! declare
 If once I trembled or declined the war :
 Midst flames and foes a glorious death I fought,
 And well deserv'd the death for which I fought.
 No hopes of aid in view, and every gate
 Possess'd by Greece, at length I yield to fate.
 Safe o'er the hill my father I convey,
 And bear the venerable load away. *Pitt.*
- 104 *line 10.* Corruption.
line 14. The place in which he found medicine for his foul.
line the last. The antidote against gloom and fear.
- 105 Laurence

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- 105 Laurence Justinian, by country a Venetian, in rank a Patrician, in the church of St. George, a Canon. Having been a Regular for thirty years, he was elevated to the episcopal chair of Venice, though he had taken some pains to be released from the burthen. He was justly in high esteem for his undissembled piety towards God, his unbounded charity to the poor, and his ardent zeal for the spread of religion.
- 106 Though they were not the invincible, yet they were powerful auxiliaries of his fortitude and wisdom.
- 107 *line 1.* He saw the place of that catastrophe, according to history.
line 13. The Eleusinian mysteries possessed regenerating virtues.

B O O K III.

CHAP. VII.

- 120 *Note†.* He was thrust into the lowest dungeon, and killed.
Note‡. There his life struggled with famine till the sixth day, and then yielded.
- 121 *line 7.* Oh my son, my friends, who would have imagined, that to these abodes of vice and horror we should ever be consigned! But ah, before us, have these galling chains oppressed suffering virtue!
line 18. Their prison was more sacred than any court.
- 124 The temple of filial piety.

127 Here

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127 Here is scope for your efforts, aspiring young men!
 There lies a noble contest between your parents and
 yourselves; who have received, who have conferred,
 the greatest favours. No contest so interesting!
 Happy the conquerors! Happy even the conquered!
 What can be so satisfactory to an old man, as to
 declare, that he has been exceeded in kind offices by
 his son! What can redound so much to the honour
 of the young man! It is beyond the power of words
 to express, or of imagination to conceive, what su-
 perlative, what unfading glory, must be ensured to
 him, who can thus express himself: the commands
 of my parents I have obeyed; and to their wishes
 have been ever obsequious; but for this I ever must
 contend, that I have not been behind them in the
 observance of domestic duties.

128 *line 12.* Nor are there wanting examples to stimulate
 thus to excel.

line 22. In life they did not so much rejoice, as to be
 indebted to their sons for their life.

130 As the sun shines with peculiar radiance amongst
 clouds.

Note. Tanusia concealed her husband T. Vinus, in a
 chest, and conveyed him to the house of their freed-
 man Philopæmen, where he was secreted. Then
 she revealed the business to Cæsar, by Octavia,
 Cæsar's sister, by whose interposition, many at that
 time were saved. He forgave all the parties in this
 transaction, and moreover raised Philopæmen to
 equestrian rank.

Lucretius, Ligarius, and Antistius, were concealed
 by their wives. Acilius was redeemed by his wife
 from

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from the soldiers, having disposed of all her rich attire for the purpose. L. Cæsar was saved by his sister. Servants likewise, signalized themselves for their devotion to their masters; particularly Hirtius and Ventidius. Panopio and Menenius, desired to be scourged, as substitutes for their masters. Amidst these persecutions, the utmost affection was displayed by the Ligarii, and by other brothers.

- 131 Wives and CHILDREN, and brothers and servants, anxiously concerted measures for their preservation, and when these failed, declined not to DIE WITH THEM.

The Ignatii, father and son, clasped in each others arms, died by the same blow: their heads indeed were separated, but their bodies remained united. Geta, though he had provided himself a retreat in a field which he had lately purchased, left it, in order to perform the funeral rites of his father, who had fallen a victim. Adrian, not proscribed himself, hid his proscribed father in a tomb, and watched the opportunity to convey him away in safety. When Metellus was sitting on the bench with Cæsar, trying the prisoners, it appeared that his own father and son were in the number. The father was first brought forward, dishevelled, haggardly, and wretched. Metellus, on recognizing him, leaped from the bench, and embraced him with a groan. O Cæsar, He was thine enemy, but I was thy friend: I beg, that for my sake, my father may be saved; or if he must die, that I may be doomed to death with him. Every heart was melted; Cæsar discharged

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charged the prisoner, though he had been very active against him.

- 132 From his close covert Nisus rush'd in view,
And sent his voice before him as he flew :
Me, me, to me alone, your rage confine,
Here sheath your javelins, all the guilt was mine.
His only crime, (and oh! can that offend?)
Was too much love to his unhappy friend! *Pitt.*
-

- 133 Haste then, my fire, I cry'd, my neck ascend,
With joy beneath your sacred load I bend;
Together will we share, where e'er I go,
One common welfare, or one common woe. *Pitt*
-

- 134 Charm'd with his virtue, all the Trojan peers,
But more than all, Ascanius melts in tears,
To see the sorrows of a dutious son,
And filial love, a love so like his own. *Pitt.*

- 135 *Note.* So that he became a rich man.
line 12. Two Sicilian youths, when Ætna, with
unusual violence, discharged its torrents upon the
fields and cities, and a great part of the island, took
their parents on their shoulders: one, the father;
the other, the mother. It is related, that the fire
made way for them, and that the flame retiring on
each side, a passage was left open, through which
these most deserving young men made their escape.

- 136 Now by the goddesses led, I bend my way,
Tho' javelins hiss, and flames around me play;
With sloping fires the flames obliquely fly,
The glancing darts turn innocently by. *Pitt.*
137 You

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- 137 You see here an old piece of architecture, commonly called *L'arco di Giano*, with twelve niches in each of the four sides: this monument, made of uncommonly large pieces of Grecian marble joined together, is built in such a manner, as is really astonishing, each angle is one hundred and two palms, which makes the whole four hundred and eight.

B O O K III.

CHAP. VIII.

- 138 *Note**. Temples were built to Janus, with four sides and four fronts. One still remains in the Forum Boarium.

Note†. Their gilded statues are at the forum; six of one sex, and as many of the other.

line the last. The twelve Gods that protect the city.

- 139 The twelve Gods who preside over the fields.

- 140 *line 5*. Dialogues on husbandry.

last line's. In a basin, formed by the retreat of the mountain, were situated the country house and gardens of Varro.

- 141 *line 13*. Varro fixed upon his estate at Cassino, for his philosophical retreat. What conversations were there held? What studies were there pursued? What volumes were there composed? The laws of the Romans, the monuments of their ancestors, every system of wisdom, every subject in literature.

141 *Note*.

Page

- 141 *Note.* Under the town Cassinum, there is a river, which flows by my villa, where is my musæum. On its banks is a walk in the open air, ten feet wide.
- 142 No place is so well cultivated as Italy; it so abounds with plantations, as to appear one continued orchard.
- 143 Varro delighted in study.
- 144 *Note.* Varro devoted his early life to the most important engagements. His love of improvement led him to withdraw from the snares of corruption, and the seducements of pleasure, to which he was very averse.
- line 6.* Amidst these storms, scarcely any but himself were in port. With books he renewed his old habits, and by those habits assuaged his grief. He returned to that life, which many learned men hold to be more eligible than political pursuits; whether this opinion be just, may be questioned, but it has been maintained by many learned men.
- line 20.* Varro's Treatises on the Latin Language, and on Husbandry.
- 146 He was of all men, the first in penetration and discernment.
- 147 No time must be lost. If man, as is affirmed, be a bubble; what must an old man be! My eightieth year admonishes me, that I prepare for my departure from life.
- 148 Not only while I live shall I endeavour that my friends may be improved by me, but when I am in my grave.

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- 148 *line 11.* Master-pieces of sculpture, &c.
- 149 Their works do follow them.
- 154 *line 19.* The Dialogue concerning great Orators.
line 24. His studies were without intermission.
line the last. From the rich stores of Athens.
- 155 His accomplished eloquence was united to an unblemished character.
- 158 And the fair hopes of fame the patriot move,
 To sink the private in the public love. *Pitt.*
- 159 *Note.* He removed the statue of Pompey from the Senate-house, in which C. Cæsar had been slain: and placed it under a marble arch, over-against the fine house adjoining to his theatre.
- Flaminio Vacca relates, that the fine colossus, fifteen palms high, which is so much admired in the palace *Spada*, and is a representation of *Pompey*, was found again in the street of *Leutari*, not far from the theatre, between which there is only a pleasure-ground: it might be the same statue which Suetonius mentions to have been brought here by Augustus.
- 165 Most affectionately taking his leave of each of them, he said, with great tranquility, that it was a high satisfaction to him, that not one of his friends had been treacherous; and that he esteemed himself happier than his conquerors. This sentiment he even in the present extremity should retain, because he should transmit his name to posterity with honour, which his enemies, with all their successes, could not acquire. It would not but be believed, that, to the power which they unjustly gained, they had no

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right. Then beseeching them to consult their own safety, he retired to some distance.

- 167 Struggling for the liberty of his country, disdaining to think of flight or shelter, even daring the enemy, presenting himself conspicuously to their view, and leading on with ardour the firm and bold—he fell—exhibiting a prodigy of valour to his foes.

- 170 Never to despair of the Commonwealth.

- 177 What! must these rising crops barbarians share,
These well-tilled fields become the spoils of war?
See to what mis'ry discord drives the swain!
See for what lords we spread the teeming grain!

Warton.

- 178 In compliance with your prayers, may Apollo banish war and famine, and pestilence, from the people and prince, to other countries: to Persia and Britain.

- 181 A rich marble fabric.

- 182 Among these worthies thou must hold the most conspicuous rank, having been the most conspicuous for virtue.

- 187 Dispeopled Egypt fills the wat'ry plain,
And the whole Eastern world o'er spreads the main.

Pitt.

- 188 As incense, may it ascend before thee, for thy mercies' sake.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Page

- 193 Who, in cold Hæmus' vales my limbs will lay,
And in the darkeſt thicket hide from day. *Warton.*
- 194 The mountains riſe, and the plains retire to the
ſtation which thou haſt aſſigned them. O Lord, how
manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made
them all.
- 195 Wherever I caſt my eyes,
I ſee thee Omnipotent God.
I admire thee in thy works,
I ſee thee in myſelf.
The earth, the ſea, the celeftial ſpheres,
Proclaim thy power.
Thou art every where,
And we all live in thee.
-
- 200 *line 1.* Not fair Lariffa with ſuch tranſport warms;
As pure Albunea's far reſounding ſource,
And rapid Anio, headlong in his courſe,
Or Tibur, fenc'd by groves from ſolar beams,
And fruitful orchards bath'd by ductile ſtreams.
- Francis.*
- line 7.* Pan from Arcadia's hills deſcends
To viſit oft my Sabine ſeat,
And here my tender goats defends
From rainy winds, and ſummer's fiery heat.
- Francis.*
-
- 201 On columns, rais'd in modern ſtile,
Why ſhould I plan the lofty pile
To riſe with envied ſtate?

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Why, for a vain, superfluous store,
Which would encumber me the more,
Resign my Sabine feat? *Francis.*

206 Sudden, the dire alarm the temple took!
The laurels, gates, and lofty mountains shook.
Burst with a dreadful roar, the veils display
The hallow'd tripods in the face of day. *Pitt.*

208 Where Mincio's stream bedews the verdant fields;
And spreading wide his lingering waters, feeds
Around his winding shores the tender reeds.
Warton.

Note. Two miles from Mantua, is the village Andes, the country of Virgil, now called Pietola. The dukes of Mantoua had there erected, to the memory of Virgil, a most elegant villa, which was destroyed in the war of 1701.

209 On the left is given in different pieces, an idea of the most ancient collections of books. The sixth represents Ptolemy Philadelphus, accompanied by Demetrius Phalereus, his librarian, and by Aristeus, who are arranging the famous library of Alexandria. In the seventh, appears Augustus, walking between Virgil and Horace in the library which he had formed on Mount Palatine, where the statue of Varro was placed.

211 These are my views of education. What has generally been observed of the arts and sciences, is applicable to virtue. To complete moral excellence, three qualities are requisite: inclination, intelligence and habit. By intelligence, I mean, a proper acquaintance

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quaintance with the nature and importance of virtue; and by habit, the practice of it. The elementary parts depend upon good instruction, its advancement upon care and diligence, and its perfection on the union of all. In proportion as any one of these is wanting, our virtue will necessarily be defective. The inclination without information is blind; and information without the inclination will be of little avail; and the attempts to practice it without both, will be very ineffectual. As in husbandry, a good soil is the first object, and then a judicious labourer, and lastly good seed: so in education, the disposition and genius may be compared to the soil, he that instructs us to the labourer, and the principles of wisdom to the seed. (The same similitude occurs in the gospel.) Happy and beloved by the Gods, is that man, who enjoys all these advantages.

- 221 Virgil with the utmost care and diligence studied medicine and the mathematics, and in each highly excelled, before he came forward to the notice of the world.

Note, last line. Take me, ye Muses, your devoted priest.
 Whose charms with holy raptures fire my breast!
 Teach me the ways of heav'n, the stars to know;
 The radiant sun and moon's eclipses shew;
 Whence trembles earth, what force old ocean swells
 To burst his bounds, and backward what repels;
 Why wintry suns roll down with rapid flight,
 And whence delay retards the lingering night.

Warton.

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222 The *Bucolics* were written in honor of Pollio, Varius, Gallus, because in the distribution of the lands his property was untouched. The *Georgics* he composed in honour of Mæcenas. In the *Æneid* he proposed to celebrate the origin of the Roman state and of Augustus.

223 *line 17.* On the proper improvement of poetry.

line 19. A city is not secured by gates however numerous and impregnable, if only one be left open for the admission of the enemy : nor will temperance in all other instances avail, if a young man abandon himself only to one vice.

224 In regard to the exhibitions of the stage, the productions of the lyre, and the exercises of the school, he sometimes admits the principles of Pythagoras and Plato. Youth should be previously and gradually prepared for philosophy, which is the perfection of all other accomplishments : and poetry may serve as a pleasing introduction to that study.

225 *line 1.* Strew flowers upon the tomb.

line 16. Behold how tottering nature nods around,
Earth, air, the watry waste, and heav'n profound !
At once they change—they wear a smiling face,
And all with joy th' approaching age embrace.

Warton.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. II.

Page

227 *Note**. As you advance farther, you enter the beautiful walks of Genzano, which look more like a garden than a public road, on account of the espaliers of elm trees, which are planted in double rows, with a large space between them: there is likewise a beautiful garden belonging to the Capuchin Friars, from which you see the neighbouring lake of Nemi. That lake, which is four miles in circumference, makes the country fruitful, and extremely pleasant: the walks along its banks are also delightful.

Note†. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the public offices of his borough, and grew old in the quiet enjoyment of a very plentiful estate.

229 And he became man.

231 To God only and to his angels ought it to be known, and to escape the observation of men.

232 Great multitudes were gathered together to hear, and to be healed by him of their diseases. But he had retired to the wilderness to pray.

236 This road and aqueduct were completed by him alone.

237 The prodigies related of Q. Marcius are strictly true. Being ordered by the Senate to repair the aqueducts of Appia, Anien, Tepula, he com-

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pleted a new one called by his own name, by means of passages cut through mountains, in the course of his prætorship. It was universally allowed to be the most cool and salubrious stream in the world, and among other presents to the Gods, was left by Marcius to the city. By a comparison of all the waters, this superiority was ascertained; and as grateful as the aqueduct, called Aqua Virgo was to the touch, was Aqua Martia to the palate and the stomach. It supplied the whole city, but was reserved entirely for drinking, while the other canals might be used for any purpose. It was in length sixty miles and upwards,

241 Water in such abundance is brought by means of these aqueducts, that rivers flow through the streets and pipes of the city, and almost every house has its springs and reservoirs. To this business Marcus Agrippa gave the greatest attention; the city is likewise indebted to him for many other ornaments.

243 Brass were the steps, the beams with brass were strong
The lofty doors, on brazen hinges, rung. *Pitt.*

246 Next with kind gales, the care of every God,
Agrippa leads his squadron thro' the flood.
A naval crown adorns the warrior's brows,
And fierce he pours amid th' embattled foes. *Pitt.*

248 *line 1.* Varius, who soars on Homer's wing,
Agrippa, shall thy conquests sing,
Whate'er, inspir'd by his command,
The soldier dared on sea, or land,

But

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- But we nor tempt with feeble art
 Achilles' unrelenting heart,
 Nor sage Ulysses in our lays
 Pursues his wanderings thro' the seas. *Francis.*
- 248 *line 18.* His courage was most distinguished: to no
 labour or danger by night or by day did he yield.
- 249 To acts of kindness he was ever disposed. Gentle
 and generous to those who applied for his favours;
 to none austere and forbidding. On his approach
 to Jerusalem, he was met by the people with the
 pomp of their most solemn festival, and saluted with
 cordial acclamations. He sacrificed a hecatomb to
 Jehovah, and gave entertainment to the people.
- 255 There is extant an oration of Agrippa on this mag-
 nificent design, so worthy of the greatest of citizens.
- 260 That prince was justly beloved by France and by
 his master, because he was alike the friend of both.
- 263 *line 7.* On behalf of ourselves and the city, we
 obey that destiny which invests thee with the mo-
 narchy: hereby are we much served, because we
 are not only relieved from civil dissensions, but
 likewise shall enjoy an established government.
line the last. If merit determine, Agrippa most evi-
 dently was the best of men.
- 270 Augustus Cæsar, Emperor, having reduced Egypt
 to a Roman province, consecrated this to the sun.
- 271 *line 5.* Representing Rome as a Goddesses.
line 9. Proud of her sons, she lifts her head on high;
 Proud, as the mighty mother of the sky,
 When thro' the Phrygian towns, sublime in air,
 She rides triumphant in her golden car,

Crown'd

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Crown'd with a nodding diadem of tow'rs;
 And counts her offspring, the celestial pow'rs,
 A shining train, who fill the blest abode.
 A hundred sons, and every son a God. *Pitt.*

271 *last line.* I pray thee, wrest not this child from my arms:
 let this child live: how many have I already lost:
 while this survive, I shall have some satisfaction: in
 possession of this child, I can submit to being be-
 reaved of many.

276 Hail, Hail, O Egypt! my tender parent. See the
 epitaph of Isis, in Diodorus Siculus.

278 Nile saw the rout: his mantle he unroll'd,
 Spread forth his robes, and open'd ev'ry fold,
 Expanded wide his arms, with timely care,
 And in his kind embrace receiv'd the flying war.

Pitt.

283 Live, for ever!

288 London very famous for the number of its mer-
 chants, and the quantity of its stores.

289 Now to a woman chang'd by fate again. *Pitt.*

BOOK IV.

CHAP. III.

291 Your purchas'd woods, your house of state,
 Your villa, wash'd by Tibers wave,
 You must, my Delliuss, yield to fate,
 And to your heir these high-pil'd treasures leave.

Whether you boast a monarch's birth,
 While wealth unbounded round you flows,
 Or poor, and sprung from vulgar earth,
 No pity for his victim Pluto knows;

We

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- We all must tread the paths of fate:
 And ever shakes the mortal urn,
 Whose lot embarks us, soon or late,
 On Charon's boat, ah! never to return. *Francis.*
- 292 This justly celebrated Mausoleum, was a tomb by
 the river-side, on an alabaster base, and to its very
 roof cloathed with ever-greens.
- 294 Then mighty Juno, with a melting eye
 Beheld her dreadful anguish from the sky;
 And bade fair Iris, from the starry pole
 Fly, and enlarge her agonizing soul.
 Swift from the glancing sun the Goddess drew
 A thousand mingling colours, as she flew:
 Then radiant hover'd o'er the dying fair.
 ————The vital spirit flies, no more confin'd
 Dissolves in air, and mingles with the wind. *Pitt.*
-
- 295 *line 7.* ———— The only joy he knows
 ———— The solace of his woes. *Pitt.*
- Note.* This piece is a most chaste production. The
 countenance shines with that serenity, that sweet sa-
 tisfaction, which may well be experienced on the
 approach to unchanging joy. It is one of Guido's
 most finished compositions: the attitude is very
 simple, and at the same time highly poetical.
- 298 *line 3.* He was the delight of the Roman people.
line 21. His mind was active, chearful and vi-
 gorous.
- 299 *line 1.* He was patient of labour: disinclined to
 indulgence: and considering his years and tempta-
 tions, a prodigy of frugality and temperance.
- 299 *line*

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299 *line 9.* He was competent to the station, for which he was educating.

line 13. His mother, Octavia, was inconsolable through life. Her mourning weeds she never laid aside. Constantly were her thoughts fixed upon him; and what she was at his funeral, she continued to be, all her days.

line 20. Marcellus had already been entrusted by Augustus with the concerns of government, and had shared the burden with him; and was preparing for all the stresses which his uncle might choose to lay upon him, as he well knew that the foundation should yield to no load.

300 Bring fragrant flow'rs, the whitest lilies bring,
With all the purple beauties of the spring;
These gifts at least, these honours I'll bestow
On the dear youth, to please his shade below. *Pitt.*

301 Not with his usual prompt and flowing eloquence.

302 Who is that young Prince, in whose countenance
majesty and mildness are so happily blended? With
an eye of indifference he looks on the throne.
Heav'ns! What a sudden darkness spreads around
me! Death is hovering round him. He is falling
at the foot of the throne, which he was about to ascend.
O my son, thou seest the pride of the French
nation: The Gods will form him of thy royal blood,
Ye Gods, do you produce that exquisite flower only
to display its beauties? Alas, what a virtuous soul
would his have proved! France, under his reign,
had been happy. He had promoted peace and
plenty. My son, his days had been numbered by
his

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- his good actions. He would have loved his people.
How will France mourn, when under the same tomb
will be re-united the husband and the wife, the
mother and the son!
- 304 To the gloomy apartments of Agrippa, was Marcellus
consigned: Dear in life, united in death.
Scarcely was the tomb closed, when lo! a sister
demands the same funeral honours! To these three
shocks, lo! a fourth succeeds; and Cæsar's tears
now gush forth for his beloved Drusus. Shut up, ye
Fates, this gaping tomb! Shut it up, it yawns
insufferably wide.
- 305 A myrtle of verdure and odour most exquisite, has
sprung on the grave, and raised its bushy head, co-
vering the two urns by its branches and its shade.
Every one exclaims, that Aristonous, in recompence
for his virtue, has been changed by the Gods into
this beautiful plant. Sophronime undertakes the
charge of sprinkling it, and honours it as a Deity.
This tree, instead of growing old, is renovated every
ten years: and the Gods by this phænomenon de-
monstrate, that virtue, which throws so sweet a per-
fume on the memory of men, never dies.
- 306 Who knows, whether it was for his advantage to
live longer: or whether his death was not in mercy?
- 308 For it is necessary that men be produced, before
they can be made happy.
He shut the temple of Janus four times.
- 311 *line 13.* To Rome, and to Augustus Cæsar, the
father of his country.

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- 311 *last line.* In the administration of his government
throughout the world.
- 313 By him they lived, by him they failed, by him enjoyed
liberty and prosperity.
- 317 Never, never, ye holy Gods, may I see that day;
rather let me be expunged from existence, than that
such a blot should attach to my name.
- 319 Cæsar's house establish; which ought certainly to be
exempt from mortality, and all the ills of life. His
sacred person, from the high pinnacle on which he
stands, is entitled to look down on the world without
any apprehension. Death should not presume to
seize him, or to enter his abode: nor should a tear
ever burst from his eye.
- 320 Oh! had I died, when first I saw the light,
Or died at least before the nuptial rite. *Pope.*
- 322 Drusus was honoured with a cenotaph even on the
Rhine.
- 326 What is the reason, Brutus, that, as we are com-
posed of body and mind, and the art of healing in
regard to the former is so much studied, and even
ascribed to an invention of the Gods; that medicine
for the mind should be so much neglected?
- 328 *line 3.* The brave and good are copies of their kind.
——Yet sage instructions, to refine the soul,
And raise the genius, wond'rous aid impart,
Conveying inward as they purely roll,
Strength to the mind, and vigour to the heart:
- When morals fail, the stains of vice disgrace
The fairest honours, and the noblest race. *Francis.*

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- 328 *line 19.* Felt how Augustus with paternal mind
Fir'd the young Neroes to heroic deeds. *Francis.*
- 329 No youth, however endowed by nature, and improved by education, ever excelled him. Whether he shone most in the arts of war or peace, is dubious: in the judicious choice of friends, and in his engaging behaviour towards them, he is said to have been inimitable.
- 331 While at Rome, Drusus was lamented as a prince of distinguished merit, brave, virtuous, full of goodness, and fit to succeed Augustus: many nations in Germany rejoiced in his death. He had experienced on the part of that Prince, (or rather the Roman army under his command) unparalleled cruelties: so detestable was his name among them, that when they imprecated curses on an enemy, they wished that he might fall into the hands of another Drusus.
- 333 When Augustus was informed of what had befallen Varus, he was very much agitated, both lamenting the numbers he had lost, and dreading the fury of the Germans; who, he expected, would pour down into Italy, and even attack Rome itself.
- 334 Yon chief shall vanquish all the Grecian pow'rs,
And lay in dust the proud Corinthian tow'rs.
That chief shall stretch fair Argos on the plain,
And the proud seat of Agamemnon's reign,
O'ercome th' Æacian king, of race divine,
Sprung from the great Achilles' glorious line:
Avenge Minerva's violated fane,
And the great spirits of thy fathers slain. *Pitt.*
- 336 He left a noble pattern for young men. Great, in striking terror into the enemy: great, in protecting the rights of the citizen. 339 The

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- 339 The affection of the cities, provinces, and all Italy, for Drusus, was heightened by his death: through whatever town the funeral procession passed, it received all possible honour, and it entered Rome almost like a triumph.
- 340 His body being brought to Rome; was laid in Caius Julius' tomb. (The tomb of Augustus must be meant, according to the express words of Dio.) His panegyric was pronounced by Augustus, and every affecting solemnity observed on the occasion.
- 345 I now take leave of my work on the transactions subsequent to those, which Livy's history comprehends; having my mind absorbed by that nobler and more durable empire, which was founded by Jesus Christ, and over which he presides. We are now at the period of his birth, though on the precise day the learned cannot agree: but then the world rather beheld, than acknowledged, its Lord. To his blessing I am entirely indebted, if I have laboured to any purpose: and I moreover humbly pray, that he would confirm me in this opinion, that all I have written concerning victories, triumphs, and states, is deserving of no regard, should it have diverted my mind from his holy religion, and made me in any degree inattentive to what it enjoins us to do or to suffer.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. IV.

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- 350 Fear of disturbing what is established.
- 351 All nations or cities have been governed by the people, the nobles, or king. The union of all these in a government, is rather to be praised than expected : or should it ever take place, would be of no long continuance.
- 352 To him shall succeed Caligula, so called from his familiarity with the common soldiers at camp, where he was brought up : but by a more degraded name he is known to posterity, being a monster of cruelty and debauchery.
- 353 Not so much through his own dexterity, as through the anger of the Gods towards the Roman people.
- 355 Not withholding their money from good schemes.
- 358 You see first the bust of *Julius Caesar*, made of striped alabaster, that of *Augustus* is next : then you see a head of *Marcellus*, his nephew ; next to it is another head, of *Tiberius*, with a bust of the same. The bust of his brother *Drusus*, is of very white marble, and certainly modern, as is sufficiently proved by the excellence of the workmanship. On its left, you see a most beautiful head of his wife, *Antonia*, called *Junior* ; the head of their son *Germanicus* is next, with that of his wife, *Agrippina*, of exquisite workmanship.

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- 360 *Note.* By his stern and proud countenance, his frightful eye-brow, and threatening looks, it is easy to know *Caracalla*, represented in a bust of porphyry, with a head of marble.

line 11. ————— Catiline in chains
 Roars from the dark abyſs, in endless pains:
 Sees the grim furies all around him ſpread,
 And the black rock ſtill trembling o'er his head.
 But in a ſeparate place the juſt remain;
 And awful Cato rules the godlike train. *Pitt.*

- 361 The Lord hath led the juſt man by the right way,
 and hath ſhewn him the kingdom of God. O happy
 man, whoſe ſoul is in paradise, where angels exult,
 archangels rejoice, and the chorus of ſaints invite to
 remain with them for ever.
- 363 By examples of vice and virtue we may improve:
 warned by the former, we riſe ſuperior to the
 wicked! and imitating the latter, may not be infe-
 rior to thoſe who are revered and loved.
- 364 Alas! how did they degenerate.
- 365 His character changed with his ſituation. As a
 private man, he was in reputation, and poſſeſſed
 the confidence of Auguſtus: he retained the ſem-
 blance of virtue during the life of Germanicus: till
 the death of his mother, he did not wholly lay aſide
 his regard to character, but ſeemed divided between
 virtue and vice: after that period, he heſitated at
 nothing, however criminal, however infamous.
- 366 He had great talents, excelling alike in elo-
 quence and learning. He has left many monuments
 of

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of his literary improvement. His fortitude and benevolence were conspicuous, and he had an irresistible art of conciliating the affections of men.

367 *line 1.* Wherever he met with the tombs of great men, he treated them as though they were altars: he first set about collecting the relicks of the Varian party.

line 14. Trajan raised an altar to the memory of those who were slain in battles, and there offered annual sacrifices.

He restrained the Legions who were disaffected to Tiberius, and who would have placed the government in his hands: displaying alike his firm resolution and his filial piety. Those legions were the strength of the Empire, and their pleasure was law.

Note. The two busts of Trajan are of excellent workmanship, and exactly like the medals: they are both of white marble, and the first is all of one piece.

369 *line 4.* When I die, let fire consume the globe.

Note. When Nero repeated this line, he added with emphasis, Let the conflagration take place, before I die.

line 8. From such a hell, good Lord deliver us.

370 *Note †.* Germanicus descended from his chariot, laid aside his triumphal robe, and offered to Jupiter many white bulls: he afterwards brought to the temple of Mars the revenger, the ornaments of the triumph and German spoils.

Note ‡. At the end of the year an arch was consecrated near the temple of Saturn, on account of the recovery of the standards lost with Varus, under the command of Germanicus, and with the auspices of Tiberius.

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371 The statues of the rivers were in the procession.

372 *Note.* L. Domitius crossed the Elbe with his army, penetrating farther into Germany than any commander before him.

line 22. To the empire which extended beyond the ocean, the Rhine was a limit.

374 In the devastation spread by fire and sword through a vast extent of country, mercy was shewn neither to age nor sex. Slaughter, not captives, was the object; the desolation, not the subjection of the country.

375 A kind of towered crown.

377 The armies of the Germans are not led on as formerly, to irregular attacks, and in detached companies. Their operations now are systematic, and in concert. In their long war with us, they have learnt to follow the banner, to march to each others succour, and to obey the word of command.

380 Germanicus thought the Muses more enchanting than Syrens.

381 By all beloved, because a friend to all.

Note. He revived the provinces sinking under internal discord, or the oppressions of their rulers. He lowered the price of wheat, by opening the public granaries. He went to Alexandria, on account of a sudden and grievous famine.

382 *line 4.* Not being able to endure the sight of his subjects.

line the last. Overhearing those just and severe reflections, with which he was wounded in secret.

383 *Note.*

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- 383 *Note.* An island, with a western aspect, commanding a full view of the sea, and a most charming bay : but the torrents of Mount Vesuvius have defaced the beauties of the scene.
- 384 *line 3.* Vicious indolence, effeminacy, lust, cruelty.
line 9. He found no relief in gay or in solitary life, but confessed what torment he endured. A letter to the Senate he thus begins, " What I shall write to you, Conscript Fathers, or how I shall write, or in fact what I shall not write, may the Gods and Goddeses inflict more horrible vengeance than what is already preying upon my vitals, if I know." Thus his crimes were converted into pangs : and abundantly true was the argument of that most illustrious sage, Plato, that if the mind of tyrants could be laid open, wounds and ulcers would be seen. As the scourge lacerates the body, does vice harrow up the mind.
- 385 Rough Ithaca we shun, a rocky shore,
 And curse the land that dire Ulysses bore. *Pitt.*
- 386 In Plutarch's book, concerning virtue and vice, a passage is applicable to this purpose : Abroad, pronounced happy : At home, he is in an agony. His wickedness having taken possession of his heart, haunts him night and day, consuming without a torch, and hastening on premature old age. When he sleeps, his body may be at rest, but his soul is in tumult, terror, and distraction. Where then are the sweets of vice, if anxiety and horror are thus its attendants ?

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388 The bones of Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa, grand-daughter of Augustus, wife of Germanicus.

391 *Note.* He likewise read whole books to the Senate, and made them known to the people, by proclamation; as the orations of Q. Metellus, for the encouragement of matrimony, and Rutilius, about a method of building: to convince them that he was not the first, who had attended to these subjects, but that the ancients too had thought them worthy of their care.

line 13. That they might not think it beneath them to imitate the example of a young man.

393 *Note.* The ancient palace of the old forum.

line 11. With clusters of virtues was his character enriched. To his friends most dear; dear, however, to all, while he lived, but much more at and after his death.

394 Wherefore restrain the tender tear?
Why blush to weep for one so dear?
Sweet Muse, of melting voice and lyre,
Do thou the mournful song inspire.

397 I consider this as the principal design of Annals, to record both what has been excellent, and what has been infamous: that virtues may not be lost in silence, and that the dread of the reproach of posterity, may be a check upon bad words and bad actions.

398 If the immortal Gods had suffered him to enjoy the fruit of his victories, no man ever would have returned to his country with greater applause.

399 Great Drusus' greater son.

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400 *line 6.* If they perish, it is no loss.

line 14. I have seen the wicked adored on earth: like the cedar, he raised his audacious front to the skies. He seemed to have the thunder at his disposal: he trampled under his feet his conquered enemies. I only passed by — he was no more. Wretch! God the avenger of innocence, is now weighing thee in the balance, and soon will thy doom be pronounced. Tremble! Thy day is at hand, and thy reign at its close. The traitor is dead. He is torn in pieces by an enraged people. What remains of his clotted carcass, will now be exposed to public view.

402 How deceived was Sejanus in the object of his wishes! While he was aspiring after unbounded honour and wealth, he was erecting a lofty scaffold for his own punishment: and the higher it was raised, the more conspicuous and the more tremendous was his fall, when from that eminence he was dashed to the ground.

403 Through what dangers we arrive to a danger still greater! And how long shall we enjoy the distinction! To be the friend of God, shall be my object, and that honour I may attain.

405 O for that melody, which enraptured thy breast! O to approach thine ardours, and to penetrate into those mysteries, which ennoble thy verse! If this be too much for one so unworthy to expect, teach me to emulate thee in the fervours of repentance, by which thine awful offence was forgiven. Thus blessed, I shall be happier, than if my lyre warbled thine immortal strains.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. V.

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409 Why were not the cataracts of heaven then opened?
Why were not the fountains of the great deep broke
up?

410 *line 7.* They retired to scenes more tranquil, more safe,
more ennobling. There they devoted themselves to
the study of the fine arts, the cultivation of virtue,
the subjection of appetite and passion, the improve-
ment of life and death, and the dignified enjoyment
of the world.

line 21. Numbers fell during the bloody reign of
Caius.

411 *line 8.* Such was the monster's delight; on cruelty
alone were his thoughts employed by day and by
night.

line the last. That inadvertent expression.

413 The origin of the evil.

415 He was lavish of wealth; and had no hoard but
crimes,

416 *Note*.* With Nero's character we are shocked; with
Nero's baths we are charmed.

Note†. This building is one of the finest of ancient
Rome, and is more remarkable than any other, for
its height and size. It is built of *travertine* stones,
joined together without any lime, and supported by
four large arches, with columns of rustic work of
the ionic order. To understand how magnificent
the

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the arches of this monument are, it will be sufficient to know, that the arch which serves as a door, is forty-nine palms long; and each piece of stone is three palms three inches thick, nine palms five inches, and some two and a half long. The whole of that lofty arch, is only made of twenty-six pieces of stone.

417 Claudius, father of his country, at his own expence, brought to Rome the Claudian stream from the fountains which are called Cæruleus and Curtius, through a course of thirty-five miles; and the new Anio, through a course of sixty-two miles.

418 His disposition wonderfully varied: sometimes he was cautious and sagacious, sometimes unadvised and rash; and occasionally frivolous, and like a madman.

420 The savage cruelty of his temper betrayed itself in many things, both great and small. When any were to be put to the torture, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed before his eyes. He was much delighted with seeing men engage with wild beasts, and the combatants that perform their parts at noon: so that he would come to the theatre by break of day, and at noon would dismiss the people to dinner, but continue sitting himself. And besides such as were appointed for that bloody work, he would match others with the beasts, or one another, upon slight or sudden occasions, as the carpenters and their assistants, if a machine, or any thing of that nature they had been employed in about the theatre, did not answer the purpose

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purpose it was designed for. He likewise obliged one of his nomenclators to that cruel drudgery, and in his toga too. *Clarke.*

- 421 Once blest with wealth ———
But now a broken, rough, and dang'rous bay. *Pitt.*
- 426 He tried every expedient for procuring provisions in the winter season.
- 427 Concerning the title of the work, the learned are not agreed. Beatus Rhenanus, who is said to have found, and first to have published it, is supposed to have annexed that name to it. And that name Junius, and indeed all retain, treading in the steps of Dio.
- 428 He had determined that Gauls, Greeks, Spaniards, Britons, should appear in Roman dignity.
Note. Such were the transactions in regard to Britain; and to induce others to come to terms, it was decreed, that the engagements which Claudius or his officers might conclude, should be as valid, as though they were ratified at Rome.
- 429 To Claudius Cæsar: In commemoration of his exploits in Britain: subduing its kings without bloodshed, and compelling them to acknowledge subjection.
- 430 In Campus Martius he exhibited by imagery the attack and plunder of a town in Britain, with the surrender of its kings: he presided on the occasion in military pomp.
- 431 He engaged thirty times with the enemy in Britain.
- 434 *line 2.* Fighting separately, all were conquered.
line 5. They scorned to decline danger.

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- 434 *lin*: 8. Their valour and their liberty sunk together.
- line* 11. Their great exploits by no pen are blazoned.
- 435 Their minds would have been on fire to shine in the field, and would have admitted of no restraints, till they had acquired the glory of their ancestors.
- 438 Ye happy Bards, whose rapturous strains transmit departed heroes to a distant age, did ye melodiously chaunt: and there, O Druids, were your savage rites renewed.
- 440 On the customs of the Germans.
- 441 Britain was in his time inhabited by an infinite multitude.
- 442 He was not far behind the most distinguished of the Romans. Of hereditary fame, or corporeal excellence, he could not boast: but his dignity was unfulfilled. Brave and mild, and just and faithful to friends and foes.
- 443 Plautius, after his expedition in Britain, which he conducted with great judgement and success, was applauded by Claudius, and honoured with a triumph. On this occasion, many strangers who had been made free of Rome, and British captives, fought in the armour of their respective countries: and he valued himself on the numbers that fell in these exhibitions.
- 445 Caractacus, fleeing hither and thither protested, that that day, that army would restore their liberty, or doom them to eternal slavery. He called to their recollection the names of their ancestors who had repelled Cæsar, the dictator; and assured them, that
by

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by such valour, they would save their wives and children, and be free from terrour and tribute.

- 447 Sweet breeze ! The wish and joy of all, whose heart not sinks in woe ! But ah ! to me not welcome ! Whither wilt thou waft me ! Alas ! a captive's lot is now my doom !

- 448 At the *Porta Viminalis*, behind the other fortifications, are there works thrown up in the form of a Roman camp, accompanied with a foss and rampire, which are now in a state of decay. But that it was a *Prætorial* camp, *Onuphrius* and *Lipsius* speaking of the spot, pronounce; and are herein supported by antiquaries.

Donati.

You see near *Porta Chiusa* the ruins of a stately building, which from the outlines, you easily know to have been the *Castro Prætorio*. This is also indicated by some pipes which have been found in it, belonging to the aqueduct of *Aqua Martia*; on the inscription of which, mention is made of *Castro Prætorio*. *Abate Venuti* adds, *il Signor Piranesi* gives the whole plan of it as it was before it came to ruin, which he says he took from its remains, and its view in the basso relievo of the arch of *Constantine*, likewise from medals and the descriptions of ancient writers.

Eschinardi.

- 449 Cæsar, while he displayed his own glory, conferred honour on his prisoner. For the people were assembled, as to a splendid entertainment. The *Prætorian* bands were under arms, in the field before the camp. Then the royal train advancing, the spoils of war were displayed : soon appear his brothers,

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- thers, wife, and daughter, and last of all, Carac-
tacus himself.
- 450 Caractacus attempted not to move their pity by
looks, or words, or gestures : but unembarrassed
presented himself before the tribunal.
- 451 By Claudius' permission, he walked through the
city, and observing its dimensions and splendour,
exclaimed, Is it possible, that with such possessions
as these, you can have any fancy for our poor cot-
tages !
- 452 If the enemy be rich, they must be very covetous ;
if poor, very ambitious. The East and West can-
not satisfy them. Countries, rich and poor, they
are alike eager to engross. They rob, they murder,
they seize the government under any pretence ; and
when they have depopulated a country, they call it
peace.
- 459 He banished the Jews from Rome, that were per-
petually making disturbances, at the instigation of
one Chrestus.
- 460 The most slight suspicion, the most contemptible
author, could throw him into alarm ; and under the
idea of caution, he proceeded to punishment.
- 464 Under the portico are six statues of Sabine women.
The Roman matrons honoured them with some re-
ligious rites at a festival, called Matronalia, on the
first of March. Among the different causes which
Ovid assigns for this festival, the first is, that the
Sabine women, first seized and afterwards married
by the Romans, by their tears put a stop to a cruel
war,

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war, in which were involved their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands.

- 465 In the mean time Messalina, in the gardens of Lucullus, was preparing her submissions, with some hope that her life might be prolonged : at the same time, she was distracted with rage, for pride she did not abandon to the very last. Narcissus rushed from the palace, and orders the centurions to dispatch her : such being the emperors pleasure. Evodius was commissioned for the purpose. On entering the gardens, he found her stretched on the ground, attended by her mother, Lepida, whom in her prosperity she had disregarded, but who felt for her in her extremity. Now was she, for the first time, convinced of her fate, and took the dagger, but trembled so much, that she could not effect the purpose : she was therefore stabbed by the officer.

- 469 *line 14.* In early life prudent, early pious, early husbands, early fathers, early engaged in all the important cares of life.

line 18. The hymenæal hymn is already set to music.

line 20. Thrice happy they, whom love unites
In equal rapture, and sincere delights,
Unbroken by complaints or strife,
Even to the latest hours of life.

Francis.

- 470 Psalm cxxviii.

- 478 They grievously lamented her, and interred her in great magnificence.

- 479 Lasciviousness, cruelty, indecency.

480 The

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480 The mother and head of all the churches in the city and the world.

481 *Note* The baptistery which has the name of Constantine, a work of modern times, and made with the ruins of Lateranus's house: behind the baptistery are seen some remains of that palace. The columns of porphyry in the baptistery, belonged to that palace, as well as those which are in the wall towards the vestry, and support part of a frieze and old cornice.

line 16. "Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee; then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided."

482 *line 3.* We were witnesses to the sudden poverty of many rich men, but it did not occur to us, that we could place no dependance on our own possessions.

line 9. In those direful times, by Nero's order, a troop seized Longinus, and the spacious gardens of the opulent Seneca, and invested the superb buildings of Lateranus.

line 22. Not revenge, but love for his country, influenced Lateranus in joining the conspiracy.

483. Nero next sentenced to death Plautius Lateranus, consul-elect, and upon so short a notice, that he had not an opportunity of taking leave of his children. Dragged to the most degrading place of execution, he was killed by Statius, the Tribune.

485 *Note.* Men and women of equestrian and senatorial dignity, were not now seen as at other times, in their distinguished station in the theatre, but mingling
with

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with the very lowest classes in the sports which were there exhibited, and contending for the palm in such diversions. Some engaged voluntarily, some reluctantly. Then were seen the greatest families, the Horatii, the Fabii, the Portii, and all the others for whom monuments and temples were raised, displaying their feats among the common performers. The spectators of such degenerated excellence, saw with indignation the proceeding, and thus exclaimed to one another: The Macedonians, pointing with their finger, said, This is a descendant of Paulus. — The Greeks, This a descendant of Mummius. — The Sicilians, see Claudius. — Those of Epirus, see Appius. — The Asiatics, see Lucius. — The Carthaginians, see Africanus.

485 *line 14.* Thus was the displeasure of the Gods shewn to the Romans.

486 Nor beauteous Helen now, nor Paris blame,
Her guilty charms, or his unhappy flame;
The Gods, my son, th' immortal Gods destroy
This glorious empire, and the tow'rs of Troy. *Pitt.*

487 *line 15.* To hear the neighbouring camp resound
with execrations of himself, and the applauses of
Galba.

Note. He hurried away in the night to some castle: on his way, there was such a violent earthquake, that he imagined the earth was opening, and that the ghosts of those whom he had murdered were gathering round him. He was heard to say, wife, mother, father, all demand my death. Having finished

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finished his career of wickedness, all were shocked at his enormities.

- 489 The country about Nomentum is highly spoken of, particularly an estate of Seneca, a man of great talents and learning, whose vineyards have been known to produce, acre by acre, eight pipes of wine.

- 490 *line 7.* Writers on husbandry.

line 16. Labour does not agree with our effeminate habits.

Note. The prevailing vices of this city are now regularly transmitted from father to son; namely, the rage for plays, and the amusements of gladiators and horsemanship. How can a mind, occupied in such pursuits, attend to the fine arts?

- 491 *Note.* He took the utmost pains to shine among flidlers, and to be a disgrace to emperors. He was anxious for a crown of olive, or laurel, or parsley, or pine; but would sacrifice the regal diadem.

line 14. And other trifling objects.

line 21. Born for such pursuits, I ought to value them: as I have not much time, let it be well employed. What is called old age, is the revolution of a few years. While my frame is vigorous, I should apply myself diligently to the noblest concerns. Before old age arrive, may I take care to live well; and during old age, to die well.

- 492 On account of the laws of Lycurgus, which were diametrically opposite to his taste.

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493 They are perpetually in motion, and are grown restless by their changes: their minds are sickened by their excursion.

497 They had reached the summit of virtue, and died merely, on account of their superior excellence.

Bareas Soranus was arraigned at the instance of a Roman knight, on charges respecting his pro-consulship in Asia, where he had conducted himself with such justice and diligence, as to inflame the antipathy of his prince. The time appointed for his condemnation was, when Tiridates came to the city, to be invested with the jurisdiction of Armenia.

498 His freed-man Phaon, offered him a country-house of his, betwixt the Salarian and Nomentan roads, about four miles from the town, barefoot as he was, and in his tunick, only slipping over it an old weather-beaten cloak, with his head muffled up in it, and his handkerchief clapped to his face, he mounted a horse, with four persons only to attend him. When they came to the lane that turned up to the house, they quitted their horses, and with much ado he got through shrubs and bushes, and a track through a piece of ground covered with reeds, to a wall on the back side of the villa. There Phaon advising him to hide himself in a sand-pit, he said, "he would not go under ground alive:" and staying there, till a private passage into the villa could be made for him, he took up some water out of a ditch, saying, This is Nero's boiling water.

Clarke.

In

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In that place of concealment, he suspected each around him as having a design upon him, and trembled at every voice, as though it were making enquiries for him. Not a dog could yelp, or a bird twitter, or a leaf move, but he was violently agitated. He was afraid to speak to any, lest he should be overheard by others. Looking round on his few attendants, he called to mind the state in which he had been accustomed to move. So tragic was the present scene, that he need not personate murderers and vagabonds as formerly, but only exhibit himself. He then affected to relent and retract; but now it was too late.

499 In dying, his eyes darted horror.

501 Nero could not endure the recollection of his crimes, but often confessed that he was haunted by his mother's figure, and persecuted by all the furies of hell. And Tiberius is represented as the most miserable of men.

502 A statue of Seneca is seen among the wonderful productions of antiquity, in the possession of Cardinalis Borgeſii. It is a striking resemblance of him expiring in the bath, to his last breath uttering his golden maxims. It is full of life and fire. The hands and fingers are extended, like a man dictating to writers, precepts of wisdom and fortitude: unrestrained by the pangs of approaching death, happily struck off in his countenance by the ingenious artist. His face is not handsome, but bears an African resemblance. The full cheek, the turgid lip, the distended nostril, discover the native of

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Corduba, a province of Bætica, contiguous to Africa. But mark his body, worn down by sickness, study, and slender diet; yet inured to regular exercise, and hard labour. Most happily has the statuary united the skin, emaciated by the fatal draught, and the full veins and muscles which had been produced by previous exertion.

503 Not without eloquence, even in his last moments, did he deliver his sentiments to those who stood by him to record them.

507 Its circuit is three miles, or a French league. It is a delicious spot, in respect to plantation, wood, and water: there abound roe-bucks, deer, hares, and pheasants: and every where the useful is blended with the agreeable, in perfect order and elegance.

512 Thraseas did not recede from what he thought right, though in direct opposition to the prince.

513 *Note* *. Thraseas did not attend in the council, when not satisfied with their proceedings.

Note †. Thraseas always spoke his mind. Nero might kill him, but could not hurt him. "It is perilous striving with princes: their anger is death: Is that all, my Lord, &c."

line 8. After having put to death so many eminent men, Nero hoped, that by adding Thraseas to their number, the cause of virtue would expire.

514 Thraseas, with a venerable aspect.

515 *line* 4. Let me think only on historical facts.

line 12. Without grief and terror.

516 Thraseas then in the garden, was holding an interview with an illustrious circle; particularly with
Demetrius,

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Demetrius, of whom he was making enquiries concerning the nature of the soul, and the separation of soul and body. When Arulenus, a tribune of the people, proposed to intercede on his behalf, he restrained his zeal, lest he should expose himself to danger. He admonished his wife, not to imitate the example of Arria, and deprive their daughter of her only resource. How superior is this to Seneca! The account of his sentence being now brought, he recommended it to his weeping friends to part, and not to run any risque on his account.

- 516 *Note.* Demetrius, in my opinion, is a great man, even if he were compared with the greatest.

line 16. Then advancing towards the portico, he met the executioners. He was the more satisfied, because he was informed that Helvidius, his son-in-law, was only to be confined in Italy.

- 517 He then took Helvidius and Demetrius into the chamber, and as the blood gushed from the veins of each arm, he sprinkled some upon the ground, saying, Let us make a libation to Jove the Deliverer. He then addressed himself to the officer: Behold, young man, may the Gods avert the omen, but these are times in which the mind should be fortified with noble examples. His exit being lingering, he in agony turned to Demetrius.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. VII.

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- 524 Through the prevalence of vice, the crisis was arrived, that virtue must be considered as an illusion, or nobly brave the terrors of death.
- 526 Let those weep and mourn, whom a course of luxury has enervated ; by which we become so delicate and tender, as not to be able to endure the sting of a bee, but yield to the very slightest inconvenience. But we who are conversant with the examples of great men, and are educated upon their principles, should be bold to encounter difficulties. Let us bear the wounds of fortune, like veterans, without a shriek. Let our virtue be in free exercise, inviolable, unmoved ; let us look danger bold in the face : let our countenance never change. Tully observes, that self-confidence is not the best support of virtue, but application to the Gods for their succour.
- 528 Tacitus observes, that many persecutions were omitted by historians, because they were painful to their own feelings, and might have the same effect upon their readers.
- 529 From the cross we derive strength of mind, the highest attainments in virtue, joy, and a taste of heavenly felicity.
- 531 He was great before God.

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534 Theodosius improved, Honorius completed this temple, consecrated by the remains of Paul, that teacher of mankind.

This church was founded by Constantine, who built it upon a spot of ground belonging to S^{ra}. Lucina, a young Roman lady: the burying-ground of the Holy Martyrs was also in that place. The Apostle St. Paul is the first that was buried in it, by his Disciple Timothy: That burying-ground is under the church, and the steps leading to it are near the great altar.

535 On the Ostian road, on the left side of the river, is a splendid edifice, bearing the inscription of Paul; which a pious Prince dedicated to him at the expence of many talents. The beams are overlaid with gold, so that the light is reflected, like rays from the sun. The ornamented cieling is supported by columns of Parian marble, of the fourth order. And there are interspersed bespangled arches, which have the effect of meadows, in all the gay attire of spring.

536 I love Rome on this account. Highly is it to be celebrated for its dimensions, its antiquity, its splendour, its population, its power, its wealth, and its successes in war: but waving these considerations, I most revere it as the place, with which Paul corresponded, as the scene of his labours, and his dying scene. What charms must there be in his tomb! O could I now see his dear remains! the dust of that mouth, by which he spake before kings and was not ashamed — the dust of that heart,

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heart, which embraced the whole church, and all nations and people, ardent for the salvation of those about to perish — the dust of those hands, by which the epistles were written — of those feet, which travelled through the earth, regardless of fatigue, and by which, when fettered, he shook the prison! However, let us not admire him only, but let us imitate him, that we may be counted worthy on our departure from this life, to see him in the heavens and partake of his glory.

539 He did not write to Timothy, barely to invite him to come to him, but to renew his exhortations, that he would discharge all the duties of a bishop and a teacher, with a zeal that might be expected from one, who was enriched with so many graces; and with a noble contempt of all the evils of life: since the spirit of the gospel is not a spirit of fear, but of fortitude and love, and all who will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. “Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.”

540 An Arabian historian, relates in his life of Luke, that he suffered martyrdom at Rome, soon after Paul's first release from imprisonment: supposing that if he had lived longer, the history of the Acts would have been brought down later.

541 He said in the Hebrew tongue, the lion is dead. Nero's temper being more mild in the beginning of his reign, it is probable that he favourably received Paul's defence; but afterwards, advancing to the most audacious impieties, the Apostles, in common with many others, fell sacrifices to his violence.

544 Happier

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- 544 Happier in all your concerns of greater or less moment, in time and in eternity.
- 547 ii Epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. verse 6, &c.
- 556 The scourge.
- 557 You must practice patience, if you would enjoy peace of mind, and merit an eternal crown.
- 558 John, chap. i. verse 35, &c.
- 560 John, chap. xii. verse 20, &c.
- 561 Oh my ungrateful soul, cease at least to complain, having considered the sufferings of Christ and his holy friends. Christ chose to suffer and be crucified: Christians now seek ease, and rest, and riches, and long life. My soul, of what canst thou boast here? This is not the place of rest. Thy eternal abode is in heaven. O my God, turn into bitterness every worldly comfort, that would seduce me from regard to eternity. Let me not be deceived by the world and its transitory glory; give me fortitude to resist, patience to endure, constancy to persevere; give me, in preference to all the comforts of the world, the anointing of thy holy spirit.
- 562 Behold I send you as sheep among wolves.
- 568 *Note.* In regard to the places where the Apostles repose, if you go on the Ostian road, you will find the monuments of these founders of the church.
line 18. Thence will Paul be caught up; thence Peter. Think and tremble, what a spectacle will Rome then witness! Paul, on a sudden raised from this vault with Peter, to meet the Lord in the air!
- 571 See Grotius' Note on i Peter, v. 13. Concerning Babylon, antient and modern interpreters differ.
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By it the antients understood Rome, where there can be no doubt that Peter lived. The moderns say, Babylon. in Chaldæa. I am of the former opinion.

573 The death of the Christians was made a common sport. They were either cloathed with the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of the dogs, or fixed to crosses, or consumed by fire. By night they were committed to the flame. Standing at the stake, they were fastened to it by a hook round the neck. Then burning pitch was poured upon their head, from a red-hot plate: so that the streams of human juices made a furrow in the sand of the Amphitheatre.

574 He is a great man, though not set off with a crown, with the purple, and the pomp of state, who, when he sees his neighbour die, is not alarmed as though the case were new: who, whether the body be on the rack, or fire applied to the head, or the hands stretched on a cross, does not ask, what pain was endured, but how well it was endured.

575 *Note.* Nero's circus was in the valley, having been first built by Caligula, and afterwards enlarged and embellished by Nero: in the middle of it was that obelisk which is now seen in the centre of the *Vatican place*. It fell to the ground in the dark ages, but without the marble being damaged; and remained on the same spot near the vestry of *Basilica Vaticana*, till the time of Sixtus the Fifth, when it was brought to the *Vatican place*, in the year 1580.

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575 In that circus, Nero put the Christians to the acutest tortures. He offered his own gardens for the purpose, and presented sports on the occasion.

577 Pity was kindled.

578 Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy. Amen, be it unto thy servant according to thy word.

THE END.

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